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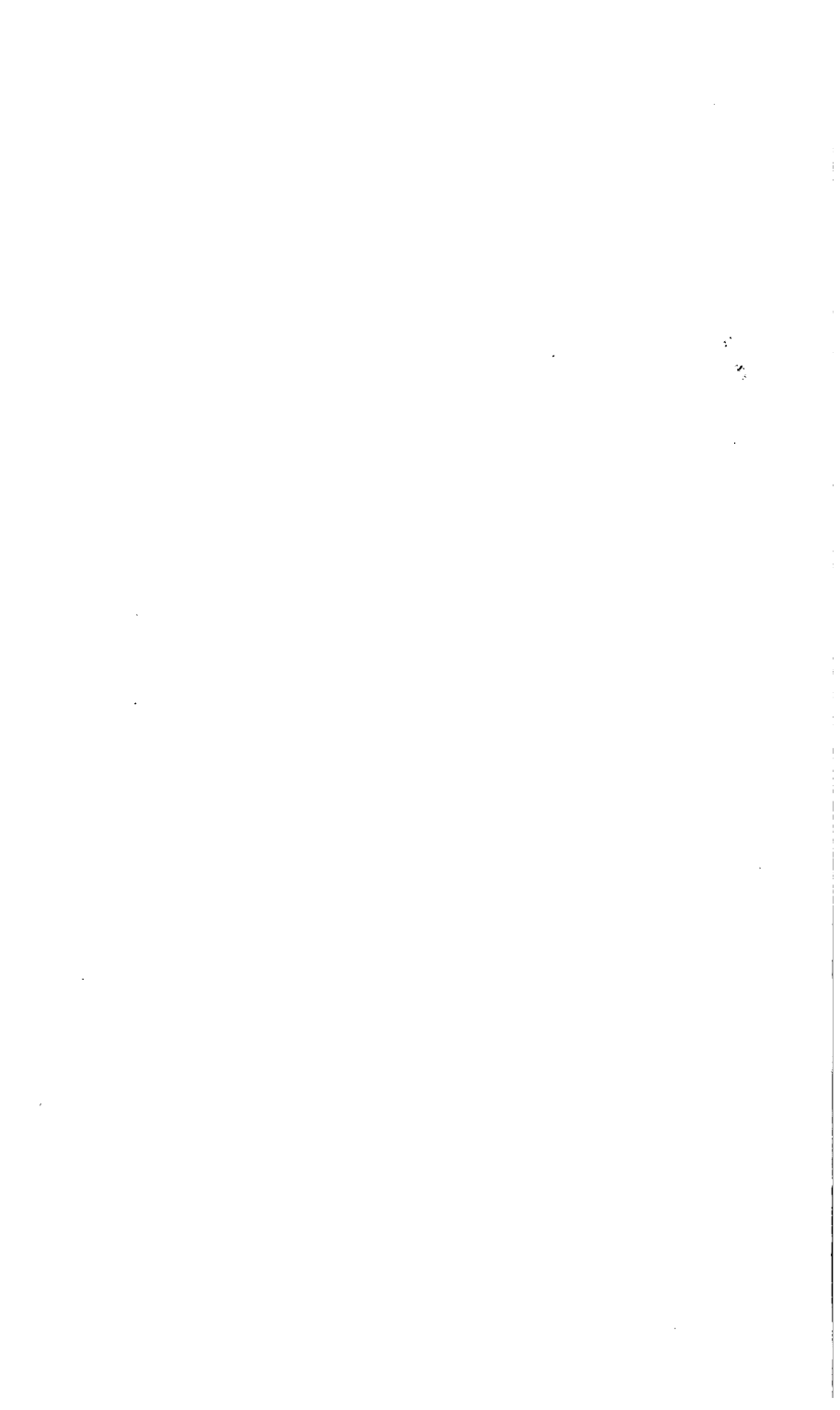


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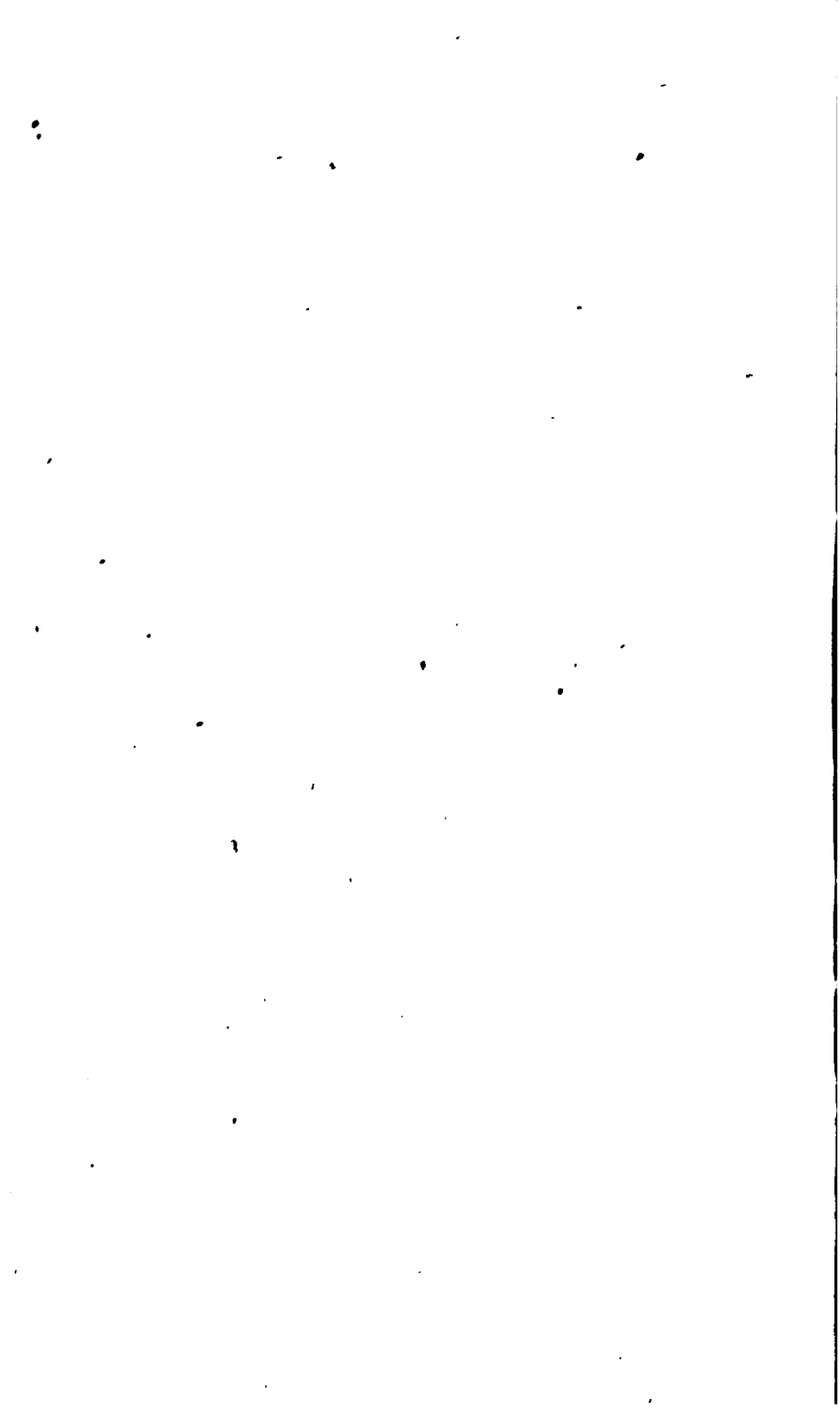
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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME XLV.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JULY, 1848.

ART. I.—JOAN OF ARC.*

THE books whose titles we have given below form but a small part of the writings which have appeared within a few years in France and Germany concerning the Maid of Orleans. The four centuries which have passed by since her death have purified her memory from the stains with which prejudice and ignorance had soiled it. It has been reserved to the nineteenth century to do justice to the heroine of the fifteenth. One of the greatest of modern poets has illustrated her character in one of his most charming dramas. And since the time of Schiller, patient research has discovered among the contemporary memoirs of the period in which she lived, and in the records of her two trials, the amplest means of vindicating her pure and noble virtues.

In fact (as M. Walckenaer has remarked in his very able

* 1. *Notice sur Jeanne d'Arc, surnommée La Pucelle d'Orléans.* Par MM. MICHAUD, de l'Académie Française, et POUJOLAT. Paris. 1837. 8vo. pp. 327.

2. *Collection des Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France.* Par M. PETITOT. Tome VIII. *Mémoires concernant la Pucelle d'Orléans.* Paris. 1825. 8vo. pp. 588.

3. *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne.* Par M. DE BARANTE. Tome IV.

4. *Jeanne d'Arc.* Article de la Biographie Universelle. (By M. WALCKENAER.)

5. *Histoire Complète de Jeanne d'Arc.* Par M. LE BRUN DES CHARNETTES. Paris. 1817. En quatre volumes. 8vo.

6. SISMONDI. *Histoire de Français.* Tome XIII.

7. MICHELET's *History of France.* Translated from the French. Two vols. 8vo. New York: Appletons. 1846.

notice of La Pucelle in the *Universal Biography*), there is no history which rests on more authentic materials than that of Joan of Arc. The English, not satisfied with putting her to death with the utmost barbarity, endeavoured to blast her reputation and destroy her character by the sentence of the ecclesiastical courts. That no monument might ever be built over her remains, they cast her ashes into the Seine. But, unconsciously, they had erected a far nobler monument to her memory in the trial itself. From the records of this trial, and the subsequent process of revision which it occasioned, we have the testimony of more than two hundred eye and ear witnesses to all the facts of the heroine's life. We have her own words taken down from her answers at her numerous examinations. We have the testimony of the peasants who knew her in her own home, and the testimony of those who witnessed her various exploits; of knights and gentlemen, of women and children. So that a distinct and perfect picture may now be drawn of this remarkable person. And beautiful as is Schiller's drama, and nobly as he has delineated her character, no one, we think, can read the simple memoirs of her life, and the events of her short career, without feeling that these constitute a still nobler poem. Nothing can surpass the touching beauty of the facts themselves.

But, so far as we know, these have never been presented in any detail to the English reader. In the translation of Michelet's *History of France*, there is, indeed, a chapter upon Joan of Arc, which is interesting. But the style of Michelet is too ambitious for the severe beauty of his subject. M. de Barante, in his *History of the Dukes of Burgundy*, was the first who brought forward in detail and in a popular form the interesting particulars of her life. But this work, we believe, has not been translated, and a correct and full account of the life of our heroine, drawn from the original sources, is still a desideratum in English literature. Without attempting to supply this want, we hope to present our readers with some traits of the wonderful story which may be new to most of them. These we take chiefly from the work of MM. Michaud and Poujoulat, which is a carefully prepared volume, and contains perhaps the best summary yet given of the facts of the subject.

In 1422, Charles VI., king of France, died, and in the same year his son was crowned at Poitiers, and Henry

VI. was crowned in Paris king of France and of England. The affairs of Charles VII. were nearly desperate. The English occupied Normandy, Champagne, Picardy, the Isle of France, and Guienne. The Duke of Burgundy, one of the most powerful princes of Europe, was their ally, and so was Isabella, queen of France, Charles's own mother. The English generals, Salisbury, Warwick, Talbot, Arundel, Somerset, were the greatest captains of the age. The English soldiers, flushed with victory, expected another Crécy or Agincourt in every battle. The French, dispirited, expected always defeat. Disaster and poverty and disgrace seemed to have settled upon the French court and nation. It was in the midst of this state of things, that a peasant girl, nineteen years old, reversed the tide of events, beat down the English power, and in less than a year, driving their victorious armies before her in all directions, saved her king and nation from destruction.

Joan of Arc was born about the year 1410, in the village of Dom Remy, which is situated on the river Meuse, in the northeastern part of France, on the borders of Lorraine and Champagne, and not far from the town of Neufchatel. The Burgundians, who sided with the English in the wars of the fifteenth century, claimed Lorraine to the line of the Meuse, and this border region was the battle-field of both parties. Its inhabitants suffered from both sides, and were the subjects of neither. The people of Dom Remy, however, all took sides with Charles VII. of France, and the children of this village fought with the children of a neighbouring village who were in favor of Burgundy. In 1428, when Joan was about eighteen years old, the village of Dom Remy was ravaged by a party of Burgundians, and the inhabitants were forced to fly to the neighbouring walled town of Neufchatel. She took refuge there for five days, with her father and mother, at an inn. In such situations as these, people become thoughtful and poetic, of which the minstrelsy of the Scottish border affords a proof; and even the peasantry take a strong interest in national affairs.

The father of Joan was a poor man, having only a few sheep and cattle. He had five children, three sons and two daughters. Joan never learned to read or write; she usually made two crosses at the top of the letters she dictated. She was taught to sew and spin, to repeat the Pater Noster and the Credo. The depositions contained in the Process

of Revision all testify that she was simple, chaste, modest, patient, charitable, and pious. "I would that God had given me as good a daughter as she was," said one. The commissioner sent by the English to Dom Remy, to inquire into her early life, reported that he could learn nothing which he would not have wished to find in that of his own sister. Joan worked in the field with her father, — ploughing, weeding, harvesting, — and watched the sheep. At home she spun and helped in the household work, and when she had no work to do, she was found kneeling in the village church. While in the fields, whenever the church-bell rang, she knelt and prayed. The bell-ringer not being always punctual, she reproached him for it, and promised him money if he would be more exact. Haumette, her companion from childhood, thus testifies : — "Many 's the time I have been at her father's, and have slept with her. She was a good girl, simple and gentle." A laboring man who was examined said she used to tend the sick, and give to the poor. "I know it well," he said ; "I was a child then, and she tended me."

Her soul was nourished by prayer and the contemplation of nature. From her father's door, she could see the borders of the great oak forest of Vosges. A beech-tree, so beautiful as to be visited by all the country people, who danced under its shade, and celebrated as the haunt of fairies, was her favorite resort. But there was no superstition or gloom in her piety. Being questioned on her trial as to the tree, she said, "that her godmother told her she saw fairies under it, but she herself never did." Her visions came in midday, in her father's garden, or on the blossoming heath, and appeared to her as angels and saints surrounded by an *aureole* of light. Of these supernatural appearances, which were seen only by herself, we of course have only her own account, and in speaking of them we shall adhere to this. She never varied from her statements, from first to last. We shall hereafter look at the question of the objective reality of these visions. At present we can only say that to her, at least, they were real. Her faith in them was her support amid all her trials, her strength by which she overcame all obstacles. She first saw these visions in her thirteenth year. One summer's day, an extraordinary light appeared to her, as she was working in her father's garden, and a voice told her "to be good and trust in God." She

says in her examination, that she was affrighted, and from that moment consecrated herself as a virgin to God. Again a vision came to her, while keeping sheep alone on the meadows, and this time she saw the figure of an archangel, with wings, and a very noble air (*un tres vray prudhomme*), with other angels. These figures she says she saw "with her bodily eyes." St. Michael told her she was to save France, that she was to go to the aid of King Charles. Joan wept; she told the angel she could not mount a horse nor command an army. The angel told her to go to Vaucouleurs and find the captain there, who would send her to the king. This vision, in which her mission was first revealed to her, was in 1424, when she was only fourteen years old. She did not, however, at first believe that it was St. Michael (*Elle fist grande doute si cétoit St. Michiel*). The vision was three times repeated, and the angel spoke of "the pity that there was for the kingdom of France" (*pitie qui estoit au royaume*). After this, she saw also two female saints, St. Marguerite and St. Catharine, who constantly talked to her. She called them her voices; her respect for them was profound; she kissed the earth where they had stood, and wept, when they had gone, that they had not taken her with them.*

But solid and deep natures, though open to impressions and very receptive of influences, are not hastily moved by them. Two or three times a week her voices spoke to her, telling her that she must go and deliver the kingdom. There was a painful struggle in her soul, between her sense of the greatness of the task and its responsibility, and her sense of obligation to submit to this high call.

As she grew up, the beautiful female saints, their heads adorned with crowns, their voices gentle and sweet, and always floating in an atmosphere of light, continued to visit her more frequently. She declares that she had three counsellors, one of whom remained near her, one came and went, and the third advised with them. By degrees the conviction became fixed in her mind, that she was the person pointed out in an old prophecy of Merlin, current in the country, which declared, "that a woman should one day destroy France, and a virgin from the marches of Lorraine should

* Michaud, "Notice," etc., p. 17.

restore it.” * With this conviction came the determination of this pure soul to consecrate her life to the work.

And now she has to encounter difficulties. Her father had suspected her state of mind, and was troubled by it. He swore he would rather see her drowned than go off with the soldiers.† He could not understand her state of mind, and the prophet had no honor in her father's house. Her hardest trial was to choose whether to disobey her parents or the heavenly monitors. They tried to keep her at home by a trick. A young man cited her before the bishop's court at Toul, alleging that she had promised to marry him. But she went to Toul, and easily convinced the officials there that the assertion was false. Determined now on going to Vaucouleurs, she obtained permission to go and stay a few days with an uncle, at the village of Petit Burey, who was named Durand Laxart. He was her first convert, and at her request he went to ask the Captain Baudricourt to send her to the king. But the captain thought it all nonsense, and told the old man he had been made a fool of by his niece, and had better go home and give her a good slapping (*dare ei vapulas*). This new view of the subject staggered the faith of the uncle, and he went back and communicated it to Joan. But she compelled him to take her to see the captain at Vaucouleurs, and though she had no argument to use but her own strong conviction and her evident piety, these at last broke down the resistance of the somewhat coarse-minded captain, who having begun by exposing her to the insults of his soldiers, — but they, awed by her solemn earnestness, did her no harm, — ended by sending her with an escort of seven men to the king, at Chinon.

It was in February, 1429, that she set off upon this journey. She was to cross France through a country overrun by armed bodies of soldiers of both parties, where there was neither road nor bridge, without female attendant; a perilous journey of a hundred and fifty leagues. But this pure-minded girl, full of faith, apprehended no danger, and found none. She adopted, indeed, as a protection, a sol-

* The Queen Isabella had evidently fulfilled the first part of the prediction.

† These are his very words, preserved by a witness, in the old French: — “Si je cuidoye que la chose advinsist que j'ai songié d'elle, je voudroye que la noyissies, et sé vous ne le faisies, je la noyeroye moi-mesme.”

dier's dress, which she never laid aside again. She perhaps felt justified in this by having heard read in the golden legend, that her patroness, St. Marguerite, had also assumed this dress in an emergency.* But the purity of her soul was the best protection; there was an atmosphere of awe and religion around her which quelled all low feelings. The youngest of the gentlemen who formed her escort declares, that, when he slept by her side, no bad thought ever crossed his mind. The inhabitants of Vaucouleurs gave her this dress. Baudricourt gave her a sword. Uncle Laxart and another villager bought her a horse for twelve francs. The people of Vaucouleurs followed her out of the town with good wishes, so much had her piety and sweetness touched all hearts.

A knight and a squire took charge of her escort, and one of her brothers was of the party. But they were full of doubts and suspicions, and were once half inclined to throw her into a quarry as a sorceress. But she, calm and serene, constantly assuring them that they should reach the Dauphin in safety, desiring to stop at every village to hear mass, no matter how great might be the peril, gradually impressed them with the same serene confidence. "Fear nothing," said she, quite at her ease; "God clears the way for me. For this I was born." It seemed almost a miracle, when they found themselves at their journey's end, in eleven days from its commencement.

And now how is she to persuade the king to trust himself and his cause to the guidance of a poor peasant-girl? Her faith will remove this mountain also. While the king is hesitating whether he will even admit her to an audience, she is deciding the question by the impression which, as at Vaucouleurs, she makes on all who approach her. Her confident words, her fervent and unceasing prayers, her frequent communions, her fastings, the holiness of her life, her sweetness, simplicity, modesty, and good sense, create a movement in the public mind which few are able to resist. After deliberating three days, the king consents to see her. Perhaps, if his affairs had been less desperate, he would have refused. But even this straw of hope seemed something to cling to in his drowning condition. Moreover, in overcom-

* "*Tonsis crinibus in virili habitu.*" — *Legenda Aurea Sanct.*, quoted by Michelet.

ing the first and lesser difficulties, she continually accumulated more force by which to overcome subsequent and greater ones. Thus the mere fact that she had been able to come to him encouraged the king to believe in her. Her hopeful and confident promises of relieving Orleans, uttered on the journey, had been carried by rumor to the besieged in that city, and Dunois, the commander, sent to the king to inquire what these rumors meant. Thus an influence seemed to flow out from her own deep faith, to create a *prestige*, an enthusiasm, in other minds.

In order to prove her power, the king, when he admitted her to an audience, mingled with his courtiers. But she went directly to him, and though he denied that he was the king, she was not confused. "Gentle Dauphin,"* said she, "my name is Jeanne la Pucelle. I come from the King of Heaven to tell you that you are the lawful heir of France, son of the king, and that I am to deliver Orleans, and then take you to Rheims to be crowned king of France."† It is also reported by several witnesses, that the king declared, — what was known only to himself and God, — how that recently in his oratory he had prayed (but without speaking aloud), that, if he was the true heir to the crown, he might regain his kingdom, but if not, that he might at least escape in safety to Spain or Scotland.

A fact which inspired additional awe was her uttering a prediction which was fulfilled within the hour. A man-at-arms, who saw her as she was entering the court, pleased with her appearance, coarsely expressed his desires, with imprecations. "Oh!" said she, "do you blaspheme your God, when you are immediately to appear before him?" The soldier directly after was drowned, whether by accident or by his own act is uncertain.

Joan was at this time about eighteen years old. She was handsome, of a fine figure, tall, and had a sweet and penetrating voice. Many were for at once confiding in her, among them the Duke d'Alençon and the party of Lorraine. But there were older and more cautious statesmen, who wished for more proof. So it was decided to send her

* She called him Dauphin because he had not yet been crowned at Rheims.

† So Sewall, in his History of the Quakers, says that Barbara Blangdon discovered that the priest was not the deputy, though he wore his hat and all the rest were uncovered. The words of La Pucelle are reported in a memoir by the Seigneur de Gaucourt, Grand Master of the Palace.

to Poitiers, where were the parliament and a university, and to consult the doctors and theologians, as well as the wisest of the civilians there assembled.

Here was a new trial. Her spirit was to be examined and judged by the letter. She felt that it would be a hard struggle, but she also felt that she would surmount it. "I know well that I shall have hard work to do at Poitiers, but my Master will aid me. Let us go, then, in God's name."

It is very beautiful to see how she evaded their difficulties, overcame their objections, and quietly put aside their learned cavils, by the sublime simplicity, depth, and directness of her answers.* They first asked her what signs she had to show them to prove her mission. "I have not come to Poitiers to show a sign. Give me some men-at-arms, and lead me to Orleans, and I will then show you signs. The sign I am to give is to raise the siege of Orleans." "But," objected one, "if God wished to deliver the city, he could do it without soldiers." "The soldiers will fight, and God will give them the victory," replied she; and what more can the profoundest thinker say of the connection between the use of means and the results? Brother Seguin, of Limousin, a very sour man (*bien aigre*) asked her, in his provincial dialect, in what idiom her angels spoke. "In a better idiom than yours," was her answer. "Do you believe in God?" said he, rather angrily. "I have more faith in God than you have," replied La Pucelle, and the sharp man, who might have troubled her, was silenced. But still the doctors went on with their examinations, asking endless questions, and suggesting a multitude of learned difficulties. "Why do you ask me all these things?" said she; "I do not know even my A, B, C. But I have come, by God's command, to raise the siege of Orleans, and crown the king."

The doctors, having nothing more to say, finally decided in her favor; influenced thereto somewhat by the great reverence she had inspired among the people of Poitiers, as before at Chinon and Vaucouleurs, by her holiness and piety. Jacques Gelu, Archbishop of Embrun, also advocated the same opinion in a treatise composed in answer to questions

* "She spoke full of nobleness and assurance" (*magno modo*). — Contemporary deposition.

proposed to him. The queen of Sicily and other ladies pronounced her a virgin. The devil was believed to have no power over such; as her power, therefore, could not be from beneath, it was logically inferred that it was from above.

The king then gave her an establishment. A wise and brave counsellor of the king was to attend her as a squire; she had two pages, two heralds, a chaplain, valets, and guards. "It was beautiful to see her," says Guy de Laval, in a letter to his mother,* "in white armour, sitting on a black horse, with a small axe in her hand." The voices had told her to send for an old sword, marked with five crosses, which was behind the altar in the chapel of St. Catherine de Fierbois. The armourer went, and among a heap of old weapons formerly given to the chapel, and which lay near the altar, such a sword was found. But what she most loved was her standard, which had been made of white, covered with *fleurs-de-lis*. On one side was represented the Saviour, seated on the clouds of heaven, with angels adoring him. On the other side was written *Jesus Maria*. This standard she always carried in the midst of battle, seldom using her sword; for she said "she did not wish to kill any one, and though she loved her sword, she loved her standard forty times more."

The men of whom she now took command were almost as savage as wild beasts, but she soon tamed them. She sent all bad women out of the camp. She made these brigands confess, and leave off swearing. La Hire, who had feared neither God nor man, no longer ventured to utter an oath; but Joan, seeing his embarrassment, for want of his accustomed expletives, allowed him sometimes to swear by his staff. "The devils," says Michelet, "had all at once been changed into little saints." As they marched, in the beautiful spring weather, along the banks of the Loire, to relieve Orleans, she had an altar erected in the open air, where they all communed. A generous ardor, a pure hope, had made them young again, — had broken through the crust of evil habit and sin, and allowed some ray of love to warm their hearts.

At night she lay down in her armour. She knew not fear. She wished to go up on the side of the river where the English had built their bastilles, or forts, around the city. Struck

* This letter of Guy, Sire de Laval, is in Petitot's Collection of Memoirs.

by a strange awe, the English did not oppose her entering the place, which she did on the 29th of April; and in eight days from that time she drove the English from the city, which they had been investing for eight months.

We cannot dwell at length on the details of these wonderful days. Enough to say, that nothing in military history surpasses the valor, judgment, and skill with which she planned and executed the attacks on the English bastilles, or the ardor which the French troops, inspired by her, showed in these successive assaults. Wounded under the ramparts, she refused to be carried from the field, but drawing the arrow from her neck with her own hand, and having a little oil poured into the wound, she returned suddenly on the enemy, who thought her killed, like an apparition, invulnerable and unconquerable. The English, inflamed by rage, blasphemed her and insulted her, but always fled before her. She wept to see their dead bodies, slain without confession. When Talbot threatened to have her burned, she cried, "Come out, and if you take me in single combat, you may burn me." She had to encounter the opposition of some of the French captains and leaders, also, who wished to act without her, or against her advice, and left her out of their counsels. She sprang up suddenly at night, while sleeping with Charlotte, a daughter of the treasurer of the Duke of Orleans, and cried out, — "My God! the blood of our people is running on the ground. It was ill done. Why was I not wakened? Quick, my arms, my horse!" She galloped off at full speed, and met the French flying. They turned back when they saw her, attacked the bastille again, and carried it. Then she returned to the city, but for refreshment would take only a few slices of bread dipped in wine and water. This sometimes was all her nourishment during the whole day.

On Ascension day, Joan had determined to pass the whole day in prayer. The French captains took advantage of her absence to have a little prudent worldly talk about their position. Schiller says, in *Don Carlos*, that

"The wisdom of the world condemns
And scorns the inspiration born of Heaven."

They probably thought that her inspiration was better to animate than to direct, to impel than to guide, better in the field than in the council. But their wisdom was always

folly by the side of her inspiration. She chose the means as wisely as she pursued the end zealously. She saw that they were concealing something from her, and said, "Tell me what you have determined. I can keep the secret, and greater ones also." They determined to wait for reinforcements before attacking the strongest forts of the English. But Joan said, "You have been at your counsel, I at mine. The counsel of my Lord will stand, yours will come to naught. Let all be ready early to-morrow for the attack. Much blood will flow, and I also shall be wounded."

Yet this proud and firm nature was moved to tears by the cruel insults of the English. "The King of Heaven knows," said she, "that they speak falsely." Presently she added, that she felt consoled, for she had news from her Master.

The next morning, though the French captains had determined not to yield to her, and refused to open the gates, she compelled them by her immense energy to do so, and hurled an impetuous assault upon the principal bastille of the English. It was so strongly intrenched by the river and a deep fosse, as to be almost impregnable, and was defended by all the best English troops and captains. The Duke d'Alençon afterwards, having examined this bastille, said he would have undertaken to defend it for seven days against any force that could have been brought against it. But all of Joan's predictions were to be this day verified. She was wounded, having crossed the ditch and been the first to plant a ladder against the walls. They carried her from the walls and took off her armour, — the arrow came out from her shoulder half a foot behind. Pain and affright overcame her; she began to weep. But presently her saints appeared to her, and the heroic soul returned. She pulled the arrow out with her own hands, saying she had rather die than have the usual military charms muttered over the wound. She prayed earnestly to God, and was consoled. Meantime, wearied with the long and useless struggle, the French were everywhere retreating. Noon had long passed, and the English seemed to have won the day. But Joan begged the French leaders to return once more to the attack, and, seeing her standard near the walls, rode toward it, crying, "If it touches the walls, we shall enter." The moment the French saw her, they poured back in an overflowing tide against the bastille, and began to climb its

walls. The English, terrified, gave way a little. A shot struck down the bridge over which the English commander was passing into the bastille, and he was drowned in the ditch. At the same moment the people of Orleans opened their gates, and attacked the bastille in crowds from the other side. In a moment it was filled, taken, and its defenders defeated and slain. The bells of Orleans rang all night for joy, and the *Te Deum* was chanted in the churches.

The next morning, which was Sunday, saw the British in full retreat. Joan would not allow them to be pursued, but she had an altar erected in the plain in full sight of their retreating troops. "For the love of St. Dimanche (Sunday), do not kill them to-day. Do not attack them the first," said Joan. "My Master does not wish us to fight to-day. Let them go, — that is enough."

The first part of the prediction being thus accomplished, she wished to fulfil the rest. "Now," said she, "noble Dauphin, let us march to Rheims. I shall last only a year, or a little longer; I must be well employed." The politicians smiled at what they thought a childish folly in her, thus to insist on the ceremony of coronation; but her folly was wisdom. The great mass of the people, unable to decide questions of succession, thought they ought to accept as their king him who was the rightful heir, and who should be regularly crowned. Joan's assertion was like a voice from heaven, as to the first point, in behalf of Charles; let him be crowned at Rheims, and the French nation would then accept him as their true and legitimate sovereign. Joan, a daughter of the people, understood this better than the courtiers, and, fortunately for Charles, she was able to overrule their selfish or timid counsels, and induce the king to undertake this perilous march through the thickest of his enemies.

By her courage and wisdom, the town of Jargeau was taken by storm. Presently the famous Falstaff arrived, with large reinforcements for Talbot; but Joan continually encouraged and animated anew the doubting Frenchmen. "If these English were hanging to the clouds, we should get them," cried she. "Have you good spurs?" said she to the captains. "What! must we fly?" "O, no! but you will need them to-day in pursuing the English. The gentle king will have the greatest victory to-day he has ever won." Well did she fulfil her prophecy; for on that day Crecy and Agincourt were both avenged. Talbot and

others were taken prisoners, and two thousand English were slain. The maid wept at the sight of this bloodshed, and exerted herself to prevent the French from ill-treating their prisoners. One of them was struck on the head near her ; she sprang from her horse, held his head in her arms, had a priest brought to him, comforted him, and encouraged him to meet death with a strong heart.

Throughout the march to Rheims, prudence, in the form of the king's counsellors, was always advising one thing, and faith, speaking by Joan, another. So when they reached Troyes, prudence declared that they could neither take so large and well defended a place, nor would it be safe to leave it in their rear ; they had better return. So thought the Archbishop of Rheims. But one old counsellor argued more wisely, and reconciled earthly and heavenly wisdom. "When the king undertook this march," said he, "he did so, not because of his great force or abundance of money, or because it seemed possible, but merely because Joan said, Go and be crowned at Rheims ! Let us now do as she says ; ask her if we shall attack the city." Joan was called. "Shall I be believed ?" said she. "If you say what is reasonable, I will believe you," said the king. "Shall I be believed ?" she repeated. "Yes," replied the king. "Then, noble Dauphin, tell your people to assault the town ; for, by my God, you shall enter Troyes, by force or love, in two days." "If we could be sure of entering in six," said the Chancellor, "we would wait ; but I have my doubts of it." "Six ?" said she ; "you shall be masters of Troyes tomorrow." She led them to the assault, and the town was taken.

This was on the 9th of July. On the 15th they entered Rheims, and the king was crowned on the 17th, with all the usual ceremonies. Joan occupied the highest place on this occasion, with her standard in her hand. Then she flung herself on her knees, weeping, and said, — "O gentle king, now is accomplished the will of God, that I should raise the siege of Orleans and bring you to be crowned here, to show that you are the right king and that the kingdom belongs to you." Touched by the sight of the people, who came singing hymns to welcome the king, she said, "O the good people ! When I die, I should like to be buried here." "When will you die, Joan ?" said Dunois. "I cannot tell," she replied ; "when God wills. I would that he

would let me return to my father and mother, and keep sheep again. They would be so glad to see me. But I have done what the Lord commanded." The old chronicle says, that, thus speaking, she lifted up her eyes to heaven, and all the lords who were in presence never saw so plainly as in her looks then that she came from God.

Well might they believe it. Her great renown had not impaired her modesty. She claimed no merit. "My work is but a ministry," said she. She showed the same constant piety, observed daily prayers and masses, and maintained the same chastity; for evil thoughts still fled from the most impure minds in her presence. Every night, she staid with the most virtuous women in the place where she might be. She claimed no miraculous power, though doing works almost miraculous. "Nothing like these acts of yours have been told of, even in any book," said some one. "My Master has a book," she answered, "which the wisest clerk has never read." When some women of Bourges asked her to touch crosses and chaplets, she burst out a laughing, and said, — "Touch them yourself, they will be quite as good."

Joan now felt that her work was done, and begged the king to let her return to her home and her sheep. Great pity it was, says the old historian, to hear her ask, as her reward in the midst of this great triumph, to be permitted to go back to her peasant's home and task. Two of her brothers, Pierre and Jean, had followed her to Rheims. Her father Arc and uncle Laxart met her there.* It is pleasant to see that the village of Dom Remy was exempted, by letters patent of the king, from all taxes, for the sake of the Maid. Charles VII. also gave letters of nobility to the young girl and to all her family, and by an exception, very intelligible, the female descendants were included. But still more remarkable was the tribute to her virtues paid in after times. When, after the defeat of Napoleon, the allied armies were passing on to Paris, they came to the village of Dom Remy. There the German troops, out of respect to the memory of this maiden, forbore to plunder or to do any injury to the inhabitants.

"How far a little candle throws its beams!
So shines a good deed in this naughty world."

* So at least Michaud asserts. We hope he has a better authority than Schiller for saying so. However, Michelet says she told her parents at Rheims, "that she feared nothing but treachery."

From this culminating point of glory we must now descend into the dark valley of reverses, cruelty, and death. Beautifully says Michelet, that "it was requisite that she should suffer ; for, had she not passed through the supreme trial and purification, dubious shadows would have remained among the rays that beam from her saintly head, — she would not have dwelt in men's memory as the *Maid of Orleans*."

She felt that her work was done when the king was crowned. From that moment the way was smooth before him ; cities and towns opened their gates to him everywhere. The sagacity of her judgment was vindicated by the result, for all France now seemed ready to submit to the king. But her own mind, though yet full of energy, became clouded. Though still displaying an heroic and almost superhuman courage, and still winning battles, she on the whole lost ground, both before the enemy and among her own party. The first great reverse was under the walls of Paris. At last, perhaps through treachery, she was left outside of the walls of Compeigne, which she was defending, and was taken prisoner by the Burgundians. She had foreseen it, she had foretold it ; but with this sad prospect in full view, she lost nothing of her marvellous force of character. At the moment of her great danger under the walls of the city, the bells were rung to summon all the soldiers to rescue their heroine ; a last and useless homage ; no one came to defend her. The governor of the place has the ignominious reputation of having commanded the gates to be shut. He was a bad man, of evil habits, for which Joan had rebuked him. He came to a tragical end ; by order of his wife, his barber strangled him.

And now what will be done with this young girl, thus taken prisoner ? Let those answer who lament the degeneracy of modern times, who grieve that the age of chivalry has gone for ever. In these days we have known one who, like Joan, had led the armies of France against the English ; their deadliest foe, the invader of every state which his insatiate ambition could covet and his matchless genius could hope to overcome. We have seen him, after pouring a sea of blood over Europe, at last arrested by the nation which had spent millions of money and thousands of lives to check his course. He is placed in a distant island ; but surrounded with friends, books, comforts, luxuries. And yet it is thought by many a hard case. But here a young girl is tak-

en prisoner of war, whose only crime it is to have defended with matchless heroism her country and her king. She is a woman, in the age of chivalry, when nothing was talked of but the duty of protecting afflicted dames and damsels, — a virgin, in the age when the worship of the Virgin had almost superseded that of God, — and what do they do? Uniting the most savage cruelty with the most pharisaic hypocrisy, they try her for heresy and sorcery, endeavour to lead her by falsehoods and wicked deceptions into self-accusation, and when all these black arts which bishops and noblemen practise against the poor peasant are foiled by her transparent truth and holy innocence, they drag her to the stake and burn her under a flimsy pretext, which deceived, and could deceive, no one. How much has the world lost by the Reformation?

We must hasten through this shameful history; yet we must not lose the heavenly traits which shine forth from Joan in her numerous examinations. The English, greedy for her blood, tried to buy her of the Burgundians, and at last succeeded, by the instrumentality of the Church. The Bishop of Beauvais and the Inquisitor-General demanded her of Jean de Ligny, who finally sold her to them for ten thousand francs. The wife of De Ligny threw herself at his feet, and begged him not to dishonor himself; but he had taken the money.

The mock trial began. After six months spent in different prisons, Joan was carried to Rouen, placed in an iron cage, with fetters on her limbs. Although to be tried by an ecclesiastical court for heresy and sorcery, she was kept in the English prison and guarded by rude soldiers, who scrupled not to offer her the coarsest insults. The trial was conducted by Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, — a name, like that of Caiaphas, doomed to perpetual infamy as a cruel persecutor, who sought, under the forms of justice, pretexts for satisfying the malice of vindictive foes by the murder of an innocent prisoner. The whole judicial process, says Barante, was a succession of falsehoods, of traps laid for the unsuspecting victim, constant violation of justice and the most established rights, under a hypocritical appearance of following the customary rules. They sent a priest into a prison to pretend to be her secret friend, and then placed notaries behind the walls to take down what she might say to

him. Even the notaries were ashamed of such a task, and refused to do it.

Called before an assembly of doctors and divines, all hostile, this poor girl evinced a courage as great as she had ever shown in battle. They allowed her no counsel; but her honesty and good-sense were the best helps, and enabled her to escape the snares in which they sought to entrap her. Their threats and violence produced in her neither anger nor fear. The readiness and beauty of her answers often astonished the assembly. They asked her if she knew that she was "in the grace of God." "It is a great thing," said she, "to answer such a question." "Yes, Joan," interrupted one of the assessors, Jean Talri, "it is a great question, and you are not bound to answer it." "You had better be silent," cried the bishop, in a rage. "If I am not," she replied, "may God make me so; if I am, may God keep me so." "But if I were not in the grace of God," she added, "I should not know what to do." The manuscript says, "They were much astonished, and for that time finished the examination." *

They asked her, another time, about her standard. "I carried it instead of a lance," she answered, "so as not to kill any one. I never have killed any one." They asked her what virtue she supposed there was in this standard, wishing to accuse her of magic. "I said to it, Go boldly among the English, and then I followed it myself." They asked her why she brought it to the altar at Rheims? "It had been where there was danger, it was right it should be where there was honor." They wished to accuse her of some wicked intercourse with the Devil, and asked her, "Was St. Michael naked when he appeared to you?" To this question she replied, without understanding its base meaning, "Do you suppose our Lord has not wherewith to clothe him?" "What did the people mean in kissing your hands, feet, and garments?" "The poor people came gladly to me because I did them no wrong; I supported and helped them as I had the power." Thus simple, unsuspecting truth was always too much for their cunning.

Sometimes she spoke with great sublimity. "My voices, to-day, have told me to answer you very boldly"; and she followed their advice to the letter. She rebuked the Bishop

* "*Fuerunt multum stupefacti, et illâ horâ dimiserunt.*"

for the part he was taking in the trial, and warned him of the terrible responsibility he would encounter. "Bethink you what you do, for truly I am sent of God. You put yourself in great danger." "Yes, I am come from God. I have nothing to do here. Send me back to God from whom I came." They tried to make her say that the voices had inspired her with unchristian feelings.

"Were the inhabitants of Dom Remy Burgundians?"

"There was only one Burgundian in the village; and I could have wished that his head was cut off, provided it was the will of God."

"Did the voices tell you you ought to hate the Burgundians?"

"I did not love them so well after I found that the voices were for the king of France."

"Did you have a great desire to injure the Burgundians?"

"I had a great desire and wish that the king should have his kingdom again."

"Do you think you did well in leaving home without the consent of your father and mother?"

"They have forgiven me."

"Do you think, then, that you did not sin in acting so?"

"If God commanded me, ought I not to have done it? Though I had a hundred fathers and mothers, I would have left them if God had ordered it."

There is a certain kind of religion which can believe in the Devil and evil spirits much more readily than in the inspirations of God and of good angels. Thus, though these judges thought it incredible that Joan should have seen Michael and the saints, they deemed it quite probable that she should have had intercourse with fairies and evil spirits. They tried to make her say that she had seen fairies under the May-tree, not considering in their haste the absurdity of the supposition, that fairies should take any interest in the quarrel between Charles and the English. Joan admitted that many people who had the fever visited the May-tree and drank of the neighbouring fountain, *but she did not know whether they were cured or not*. She had heard some old people say they saw fairies under the tree, *but whether it was true she did not know*. "Did you not tell the soldiers that you would turn aside the English arrows?" "I told them not to be afraid. Many were wounded at my side, and I was wounded myself." They asked her if she had ever been where she saw the English killed. "Who of us has

not seen war ? But of such sad things let us speak softly and with a low voice." An English nobleman present was touched by the reply, and said, " I would she were an Englishwoman."

" Was it well done to attack Paris on our Lady's day ? "

" It is well to keep the festivals of our Lady ; it would be well to keep them every day."

" Do your saints hate the English ? "

" They love whatever God loves, and hate what he hates."

" Does God hate the English ? "

" As for God's love or hate for the souls of the English, I know nothing ; but I know that he will cause them all to be driven from France, except those who die here."

" Joan, do you know by revelation whether you will escape ? "

" This has nothing to do with your trial. Do you wish me to accuse myself ? "

" But have the voices told you nothing about it ? "

" This does not concern the trial. I leave the matter in the Lord's hands."

After all their examinations, they had made out no case against her as regards sorcery. That they were obliged to give up. The only points of any weight were her wearing a man's dress, and refusing to submit to the decisions of the Church. To wear a man's dress was contrary to a text in Deuteronomy, the object of which was, no doubt, to promote purity of manners. But her object in wearing the dress was the same. Did they not see, that, in committing her, a poor, chained girl, to be guarded by rude soldiers, they were committing a much greater impropriety ?

But the real point of the accusation consisted in the conflict between the authority of God speaking in her heart, and that of the visible Church. They asked her if she would submit to the decision of the Church whether her voices had told the truth or not, and let the Church decide on all her words and actions. To this she answered, " I love the Church, and would support it with all my power. But as to my works, I must leave them to the judgment of God who sent me." The question being repeated, she replied, with the answer always suggested to a true soul, which must believe there can be no discord or variance between truth and truth, "*Our Lord and the Church are all one.*" Will it be believed, that they contrived for her a distinction, in order to induce her to reject the authority of the visible Church ?

They told her there was a distinction between the Church triumphant above, composed of God and the saints, and the Church militant below, and asked her to which she submitted. Of course, she answered, "The Church triumphant." "And do you refuse to submit to the Church militant?" "I will answer no more to-day."

But there were some honest men among the counsellors, who could not bear this. Three of them had the boldness to visit her in her prison, and to tell her that the true Church militant did not consist of her enemies, but of the Pope and the general councils, and that she might thus take an appeal from her prejudiced judges to the Council of Basle, then about to be convened, and to the Pope. One of them had even the courage to advise her in public, before the tribunal, to submit to the Council of Basle. "What is a general council?" said she. "It is," said brother Isambert, "a congregation of the universal Church, and is composed of your friends as well as of the other party." "Oh! in that case, I submit," said she. "Be silent!" cried the Bishop, in a rage, and forbade the notary from writing down her answer. "Alas!" said the poor child, "you write what is against me, but not what is for me."

After the examinations, the Bishop selected twelve articles from what he chose to consider the answers of Joan, and sent them to the principal doctors and ecclesiastical tribunals for their opinions. They were so drawn up as to make it impossible for any answer to be given but one which should be condemnatory. The chief point, of course, was her refusal to submit to the tribunal of the Church, if it should contradict the voice of God in her own soul. She was therefore really condemned as a Protestant. They also condemned her for wearing men's clothes, and for believing in revelations which probably came from evil spirits.

The English were now impatient that she should be burned. About this time, she fell sick, and the great Earl of Warwick was much alarmed lest she should die a natural death. "You must cure her," said he. "The king has bought her. She must be burned. You must not let her die." This Earl of Warwick was exactly the brave and gallant knight of that age, the perfect gentleman, full of all chivalrous ideas. He had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, not missing a single tournament by the way. He gave one himself at the gates of Calais, challenging the whole

chivalry of France. And yet he manifested this rancor against a woman, who had so deeply wounded English pride. That a girl had so frightened them, driven them half the length of France, taken them in their fortresses, and conquered them in the field, this was intolerable. Nothing but burning her alive could satisfy the vengeance of English pride, thus severely mortified.*

This was in Passion week, and they refused her the sacraments. The object of the Bishop was to make her submit to the Church, and confess that her visions were deceptive. After that, he did not care what became of her. He therefore tried all means to induce her to submit; threatening her with torture and fire, if she refused; promising her the protection and mercy of the Church, if she submitted. But day after day, the heroine stood firm. Deprived of the outward consolations of religion, she fed on hidden manna. "For my *faith*," said she, "I submit to the Church below; for my *acts*, I will submit only to the Church of heaven. I would rather die than revoke what I have done by the Lord's commands." "But you cannot hear mass on Good Friday, except you submit." "Our Lord can let me hear it without you." "Will you submit to the Church militant?" "Provided it does not command what is impossible." "Do you not think you ought to obey the Pope, and the bishops, and the universal Church?" "Yes, our Lord being first obeyed." "Do your voices forbid you to submit to the Church militant?" "They do not, our Lord being obeyed first."

Finally, on the 24th of May, 1431, they prepared a public display. Two scaffolds were erected, the cardinals, bishops, and doctors seated on one, and Joan on the other, with the executioner and priests. The English, assembled in crowds, believed that she was to be burned; but the object of the Bishop was to get a public abjuration from her. She long refused to sign any thing, but being threatened with immediate death by burning if she refused, and being promised protection and pardon if she consented, she finally agreed to sign a form of abjuration, with limitations, little different from what she had before admitted. They guided her hand, and she made the cross. Then they substituted another

* "In every thing else the English can be noble and generous," says Michelet; "not when their national pride is wounded." — History, Book X. chap. IV.

form, previously prepared. The English were furious, and began to throw stones at the Bishop. They shouted, "You have not earned the king's money ; you are going to let her escape." Warwick said, " Things go badly, if she escapes." " Never mind," said the holy man ; " we will soon have her again." They pronounced her *pardon*, which was a sentence of perpetual imprisonment ; and then, instead of committing her to the guardianship of the Church, sent her back to the English prisons.

Having thus made a partial submission to the Church, she resumed her female dress in obedience to its commands. But it had been arranged that she should not so escape. Insults were offered her in her cell. She was chained as before and treated with cruelty. At last her woman's dress was taken away while she slept, and only the man's dress left. " Gentlemen," said she, " you know I am forbidden to wear that." But at last, having no other, and also feeling more secure in the soldier's garb, she put it on. Then they cried out, " She is taken." The judges came ; they would not listen to her complaints and excuses. " Put me among women," said she, " and I will wear a woman's dress." She was condemned to be burned as a *relapsed* heretic. When this cruel death was announced to her, her woman's nature gave way. She began to weep bitterly, and tear her hair. " Alas ! shall my body be burned, which I have preserved pure, and entire, and uncorrupt ? I had rather be beheaded, seven times over, than be burned." " O Rouen, Rouen, must I die here ? " said she, on her way to execution.

It was at nine in the morning, May 30th, that she set out for the scaffold, after having taken the communion, by permission of the Bishop. Remorse, pity, grief, were taking possession of men's minds, more and more, on one side, — a corresponding rage increasing on the other. Those who showed the least sympathy for her fate were in imminent peril from the English ; nevertheless, they continued to show it. Let us mention the names of three friends who stayed with her to the last, — brother L'Advenu, brother Isambert, and an officer, Massieu. All three had been threatened by the English for having given her their advice, and manifested pity for her during the trial. As she passed on, her sweet face yet wet with a woman's tears, the people along the streets wept likewise. The priest who had falsely pre-

tended to be her friend in the prison, in order to betray her confidence, repenting, burst through the guards, flung himself down before her, accusing himself aloud of his treachery, and imploring her pardon and God's. If Warwick had not interfered, he would have been instantly killed.

They preached a sermon as the introduction of this fearful ceremony. At its close, she wept and besought of all forgiveness, forgiving all their wrongs against herself, and begging all to pray for her. Even the hard-hearted bishops, even the cruel English, were touched, and could not refrain from tears. But not the less did the Bishop proceed to pronounce the sentence. "We cut you off from the Church, as a relapsed penitent, as a rotten member; we give you over to the secular power, entreating it to moderate its sentence and spare you the pain of death and mutilation of limb." Kissing the cross which an English soldier had given her, she ascended the great wooden pile, raised on a foundation of plaster, and, looking on the great city and silent multitude beneath her, cried again, "O Rouen, Rouen! I fear me much thou wilt have to suffer for my death." The executioner applied the fire. She saw it and shrieked. The priest who stood by her did not pay attention to the flames. Then, forgetting herself, she begged him to go down. While the flames began to roll up around her, she first cried out for water, then she cried on God, and finally said, "My voices have not deceived me." In the midst of the flames she saw that the safety and deliverance they had promised was not a deliverance from death, but of her soul. God, no doubt, then, as in a thousand instances, gave her, at the moment of death, an inward light and strength, which "quenched the violence of the fire." Her last words were, "Jesus! Jesus!" All this is testified by the priest who had just descended from the pile.

Even the soldiers were melted. These rude men-at-arms cried, "We are lost; we have burned a saint." "Would God, my soul were where hers is!" Some tried to laugh. One man had sworn he would throw a fagot on the pile. As he approached, her voice, crying on Jesus, reached his ear. He was taken ill, almost fainted, and was carried to a neighbouring tavern. "I saw a dove escape from her mouth," said he. The executioner went in utter dismay to brother Isambert to confess. He could not believe that God would forgive him.

In 1450, measures were taken for revising this process. In 1456, a court of revision appointed by Pope Calixtus III. pronounced the charges against Joan to be utterly false.

A portrait of the Maid, found at Orleans in the town-house, and now in Paris, represents her as very beautiful. Her features have a soft and enthusiastic expression.

Poetry and art have repeatedly taken for their subject her exploits and her person. The little bronze and plaster casts which are to be seen in our shops, representing her in armour and holding her sword, are from the statue designed by a French princess, a daughter of Louis Philippe. Many poems have been written concerning her. Southey's was one of the first, out of France, which attempted to do justice to her character. The three greatest writers who have touched this subject are Shakspeare, Voltaire, and Schiller. Shakspeare has merely worked up the vulgar prejudices of his countrymen ; and we see how deep and strong the prejudice was, which could distort such a phenomenon as this before such an eye as his. But Voltaire's poem is a deeper disgrace to himself, and to the nation that could applaud it, and to the unbelieving age in which it could be written. Let us turn from this ribald production to the noble monument which Schiller has erected in his "Maid of Orleans." No one can forget the effect this poem produces on the mind when it is first read. Joan was a subject well suited to the lofty character of Schiller's genius. Fault has been found with it, that it departs too much from the truth of history, and that it is too much idealized. Schlegel complained that in the last scene he makes her die "a rosy death." But after all just abatements, this poem will always be cherished as one of the most beautiful monuments to a most beautiful character.

And now, in considering her life, and asking for the secret of her wonderful performances, we see that the source of her power was, that she could inspire others, by her words and her life, with a confidence in her mission, and that she could do this because her own faith was so strong. Her own faith was strong, because it had grown up by silent meditation and prayer, in a mind pure, single, devout. Eminently and remarkably does she belong to that heroic band, "who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the

violence of fire, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens." Literally she fulfilled almost every clause of this description, and all by the strength and depth of her own conviction.

Thus far all is plain. But now we may ask, — Was this faith purely subjective? had it no outward object? In other words, Were her visions realities, or were they the creations of her own mind? On the one hand, we feel a reluctance to admit the reality of such appearances, and for no higher end than the deliverance of a kingdom. They seem, too, both in themselves and in what they tell her to do, to have been created naturally by the thoughts and the belief already in her mind. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain a power which produced such immense results as coming from a mere imagination. Could so strong a faith rest on a mere delusion? Could she continue for so many years firm in the belief that she had weekly intercourse with these angels, if there was no foundation for it whatever? If we deny the possibility of such communications with a world of spirits, of course some other explanation must be sought. But if we believe in the visions of angels and other messengers from another world, which are recorded in the Bible, there is no reason why we should absolutely deny that similar communications might have been made in the present instance. This question, however, must remain a problem; perhaps always. The squire of La Pucelle, Daulon, having asked to see the angels and saints who appeared to her, she told him that "he was not good enough to see them." Neither are we good enough. These visions are unintelligible to us, and remain a secret between the Maid and her God.

With one remark more we will close this too protracted story, of which we have yet been obliged to omit many beautiful passages. Here, in Joanna, we see with what grace and virgin purity a woman can occupy any sphere which appears to her as the sphere of duty. The French chronicles are continually noticing with wonder, how, amidst the violence of war and the rudeness of her enemies, she preserved always the virtues of a woman, even to the clear and keen perceptions which characterize the feminine intellect.*

* "It was fit," says Michelet, "that the saviour of France should be a woman. France herself is a woman. She has the fickleness of the sex, but also its amiable gentleness, its facile and charming pity, and the excellence of its first impulses."

To no one better could Wordsworth's fine lines be applied than to her :—

"I saw her upon nearer view
A spirit, yet a woman too ;
Her household motions light and free,
And steps of virgin liberty ;
A countenance in which did meet
Sweet records, promises as sweet ;
A perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and command,
And yet a spirit too, and bright
With something of an angel light."

J. F. C.

ART. II.—THE HEBREW IDEAS OF GOD.

THE conceptions of God which the ancient Hebrews entertained are implied in the names given to him in their Scriptures. There are three of these names. One of them is his personal or proper appellation ; the other two are generic names, but are applied to him in a particular and pre-eminent sense. In the essential significations of these names, we shall find at once the three principal ideas which the Hebrews had concerning the Being to whom they appropriated them. Those significations are, respectively, existence, strength, ownership ; which simple ideas, as referring to him, they developed into independent and eternal existence, unlimited and omnipotent strength, primal and universal ownership. The numerous other appellatives of God, in the Old Testament, express personifications drawn from his attributed dispositions and deeds ; and they indicate, clearly enough, the views entertained of the moral relations that exist between God and man.

The Hebrew word יהוה (*Jehovah*) is derived from the verb יהא (*hâyâh*), which signifies *to be*. When Moses asked the name of the Being who commissioned him as leader of the Israelites, God answered,—“I am that I am : tell them, I Am hath sent you.” The most prominent conception the Hebrews had of God was the one indicated in that ineffable name, which means, “I am.” They believed him to be essential existence. Hence the reason why he is so frequently called “the living God,” the God who lives. Two doctrines, standing out upon every page of the Hebrew

Scriptures, depend immediately upon this idea that God is life. First, the doctrine of the absolute eternity of God's being. He was "before the mountains were brought forth" or "the morning stars sang together." He is "the eternal King," "the everlasting God." He will be when "the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll," and have passed away. He is "the Ancient of days." He is "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity." He is called "the Eternity of Israel." His name is "Everlasting." The second doctrine is, that God is the immediate fountain of life to the universe. Without him there is no existence. All life is his direct gift, and is immediately dependent on him for its continuance. All life is a direct emanation from his own essential being, which is life. In illustration of this doctrine, such expressions as these may be cited:—"In the beginning" of the creation "the spirit of God moved" (brooded) upon the abyss and impregnated it with life. "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." "I will bring you up out of your graves, and put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, saith the Lord." "The spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life." "All the while my breath is in me, and the spirit of God in my nostrils." "Bless the Lord, who keepeth our soul in life." "Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created; thou takest away their breath, they perish." "And then shall the spirit return unto God who gave it." It is evident that the Hebrew philosophy of life was, that God is essential, conscious existence; and that all other lives are emanations or breaths from his spirit. Thus far the Hebrew conceptions of God certainly cannot be considered as unworthy and degrading, and are very far from any thing like anthropomorphism. They are unsurpassed in their clear and beautiful simplicity. They cannot be equalled in their majestic and awful sublimity.

אלהים (*Elohim*), the next principal name of God among the Hebrews, is the *pluralis excellentiæ* of אֱלֹהִים (*eloha*). It is derived from אֵל (*el*), "a primitive word," says Gesenius, "always presenting to the Hebrew mind the idea of strength and power." Here is unfolded the second leading conception of God as he was regarded by the ancient Jewish nation. It involves two considerations. First, they believed that the essence of all power and might lay in the very nature of

God, primarily and for ever. Hence they did not look upon him as powerful, but as Power. They did not call him strong, but they named him Strength. He had might to build up and to tear down. He was both Creator and Destroyer, the Almighty. He heaved up the eternal hills. The sun, moon, and stars were "the work of his fingers," and he "set them in the firmament." When "the elements shall melt with fervent heat," he will "sit as a refiner" and draw forth new heavens and a new earth. In their tongue, he is "*El Elohim*," the strength of strengths. Secondly, they not only considered God as strength, but they also declared that besides him, save from him, there is no strength. All power is of him and from him. He is "Lord of lords," "King of kings," and "God of gods." His "is the strength of the hills"; and nations and individuals depend on him entirely and alone. If a mighty prince appears and stretches his sceptre abroad, the Lord has inspired him with energy. He is "the Strength of Israel," "the Mighty One of Jacob," and he giveth of his force to Pharaoh, to Sennacherib, and to Cyrus. The armies, in multitude like the sand by the sea-shore, are raised up by "Jehovah of hosts," God of the celestial armies. His are the power and the might by which they trample upon the nations. It is before "the breath of his nostrils" that they melt away like snow. So it was not till after "the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him," that Samson tore the lion, rent the green withes, bore the gates of Gaza, and lifted the pillars of the mighty temple. And the Psalmist exclaims, "O Lord, my Strength and my Redeemer!" The philosophy of force received by the Hebrews was clearly, that it is the activity of God. They looked upon every manifestation of life and of force, spiritual or material, as the very work and presence of Jehovah himself. This idea, borne in mind in reading the Old Testament, will satisfactorily explain many of those anthropomorphisms, or ascriptions of human qualities to God, generally deemed the most objectionable.

Much of the language of the Old Testament concerning God must, from the very nature of the case, be anthropomorphic; but the real ideas entertained and intended to be expressed were not more unworthy than are those of ninety-nine persons out of a hundred at this moment. The numerous striking anthropomorphisms found in the language of the Hebrew Scriptures originated very much from the singular

simplicity and piety of their authors. The immanence of God in the universe was the fundamental doctrine of their theology. They believed that God was life and force, and that all life and force were of him. Consequently, the manifold forms of activity and power continually appearing were not to them emblems of God's attributes, nor illustrations of his providence, but his direct presence and action. Whirlwind, earthquake, and plague were the quick results of his displeasure. A bountiful harvest was a token of his love. With us, all these things are the operations of laws originally established by the Creator; that is, we refer things to God only by a long and circuitous route. But the Hebrew knew no such method as this. With him law and order were the visible workings of the invisible Jehovah. He referred every thing directly to God. Now, evidently, evil is just as much attributed to God in our way of speaking, as it is in the Hebrew. And it seems hardly consistent for one who believes that God is love to shudder as he talks of the dreadful anthropomorphisms of the Old Testament, and yet, in the same breath, refer the famine recently raging in Ireland to God's merciful providence! The anthropomorphisms of the Hebrew Scriptures will give us no uneasiness, if we interpret them in accordance with the philosophy and intention of their authors. Why should such phrases as "the wrath of the Lord," and "God smote them in his anger," trouble us any more than such as these, — "the Lord is displeased at wickedness," — "God punishes them that hate his holy law," — "Jehovah pitieth them that fear him"? The real meaning is the same in both cases.

אֲדֹנָי (*Adonai*), the third principal name of God in the sacred Scriptures of the Hebrews, is the plural form of אֲדֹן (*adon*), which is derived from דִּין (*din*), to command, to rule, to judge. The essential signification of the word is the idea of rule, the relation of ownership, mastery. The Hebrews regarded God as the Author of the universe; therefore it was his. He was "the Framer of the ends of the earth," and "the Father of all spirits." Hence he stood to the creation, both animate and inanimate, in the relation of Owner and Ruler. It is sometimes said that the Jews looked upon Jehovah merely in the light of a national God. There is no ground for such a supposition. They uniformly represent him as the Creator, Upholder, and King of all; "the Judge of the whole earth," the "Governor among the

nations," and the Leader forth of the stars "that bringeth out their hosts by number," "stretching out the heavens as a curtain, and spreading them out as a tent to dwell in." The distinction between the Jews and the Gentiles was, not that God was not God of all, but that Israel alone knew and worshipped him, and was his chosen people.

The idea of God as Lawgiver and Judge, which appears throughout the Law and the Prophets, necessarily results from the relation of Creator. Being himself originally the supreme and sole existence, from whom and by whom all things are and were created, his nature and will are the standard of all law, his character of all holiness. From this bare statement we should infer that such ideas of God must flow as we find expressed in all parts of the Jewish Scriptures by such terms, applied to the Creator, as "the Holy One"; "He whose ways are just and equal"; "Father"; "Ruler"; "King"; "Maker of heaven and earth"; "the Most High." He is also very frequently styled "the King of glory," and "the God of glory." The meaning of such expressions is, that the whole fabric of the universe, material and spiritual, reflects glory upon God as its Creator and Monarch. All glory is unto him, because he is its author. "The heavens declare the glory of God"; that is, in other words, "the firmament showeth his handiwork." Men, primarily, as being the works of his hand and continually dependent on him, secondly, as being the objects of his love and the partakers of his bounty, are under moral obligations to obey his will and imitate his character. For in the Old Testament all duty is contained in keeping the law and being holy; and the Hebrew idea of law was God's will; of holiness, God's character.

The sum and substance of the conceptions of God entertained by the ancient Hebrews have now been stated. With a simple, clear, unquestioning faith, they regarded him as "the Maker of heaven and earth and all that in them is." Therefore he was absolute "King over all" things. They also believed him to be the sole fountain of life and strength. Hence he was really, to them, "the Deliverer," "the Redeemer," "the Preserver," "the Shepherd," "the Rock," "the Fortress," "the Shield and Buckler," "the Watchman of Israel," "the Pillar of Cloud by day, and the Pillar of Fire by night." It is no wonder that the distinguishing peculiarities of a faith like this, combined with the wondrous

history of their glories and their sufferings, produced that intense and burning nationality which has characterized the scattered descendants of the Hebrew in every age and in every land.

The writings of Moses and the Prophets are remarkable for their clearness and simplicity, their freedom from pantheistic speculations and from every form of mysticism. They are preëminently distinguished, too, for the depth and absorbing power of their religious spirit, their undoubting piety, which refers every thing directly to God. And it is a very noticeable fact, that they are so pervadingly declarative and oracular, so rarely explanatory or argumentative. The plain grandeur and mysterious comprehensiveness of their views of God, and the beauty and importance of the inferences, theoretical and practical, to be drawn from those views, claim for them, what they certainly deserve, a more reverent and careful study than they usually receive.

He who appreciates and accepts the Hebrew idea of God, and of the philosophy of life and force, beholds the Eternal Spirit in all nature, as Ruler ; in all phenomena, as Cause ; in all existence, as Source and Sustainer. To him the laws of nature are the habits of God, and the universe glows with a living intelligence. When he subsides into the depths of his own love and wonder, he finds there the Infinite and Holy One. When he looks on the features of truth or the operation of beneficent law, he traces the smile that beams for ever on the face of the Father. For him to turn his eyes up to the eastern hills in the morning is to behold the Almighty causing the "awful rose of dawn" ; and to listen to the evening breeze is to hear the rustle of the garments of the Lord God among the trees of the garden in the cool of the day. The influences of such a faith cannot be otherwise than most pure and happy. Wherever its disciple toils by day, he is secure in the embrace of Him "who hath beset him before and behind and laid His hand upon him" ; and wherever he slumbers by night, he is safe in the guardian care of Him "whose banner over him is love."

W. R. A.

ART. III. — THE WATER-CURE.*

WE know not how it is, that, among a people so inquiring and practical as we are, the science of physiology and the laws of health should heretofore have received so little attention. It is a lamentable fact, that the mass of our community are in Egyptian darkness in respect to the care of their own bodies, or the simplest functions of their different organs. We run to the physician as if he were an oracle, we are the willing prey of quacks, we make the fortune of the apothecary. Even men intelligent and well informed on all other subjects never seem to consider that bodily health is a possession, for the care of which they are responsible, and which may be increased or diminished almost at pleasure. They blunder along through life, using as well as they can that amount of bodily and mental vigor which their various infringements of nature's laws leave them, and suffering patiently the attacks of disease, which are the consequences of those infringements, as "dispensations of Providence," that are neither to be avoided nor averted.

We hope the time will come when this state of things will give place to a better. We do not believe that any amount of care or knowledge will suffice to banish disease from the earth; but we do believe that by far the greater proportion of the disease that now exists is the consequence of wilful, and even more, of ignorant, violation of the laws of our being. When a knowledge of those laws shall be considered, as it ought to be, an essential part of common education, and the great principles of physiology shall be understood by all who can read and write, we look to see an abatement of disease such as men now might dare hardly dream of.

A change is even now taking place in the manner in which this subject is regarded. The more general spread of physi-

* 1. *The Water-Cure in Chronic Disease. An Exposition of the Causes, Progress, and Terminations of various Chronic Diseases of the Digestive Organs, Lungs, Nerves, Limbs, and Skin; and of their Treatment by Water and other Hygienic Means.* By JAMES MANBY GULLY, M. D., Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, etc., etc. (Reprinted.) New York. 1846. 12mo. pp. 405.

2. *The Water-Cure, or Hydropathy.* From the British and Foreign Medical Review. By JOHN FORBES, M. D., F. R. S. (Reprinted in the "Green Mountain Spring," Brattleboro, Vt.)

3. *A Description of the Brattleboro Hydropathic Establishment, with a Report of 563 Cases treated there,* etc. Brattleboro. 1848. Royal 8vo. pp. 32.

ological knowledge has already divested medicine of much of the mystery which formerly hung about it. It is beginning to be seen, that the laws of health and of disease, and the action of true remedies, are as intelligible as any other of the great laws of nature, and men are no longer content to be without some knowledge of them. We view this as a most important change. If the question of health were merely one of physical comfort and well-being, if in the care of our bodies we could look to nothing higher than the mere sensual enjoyment of this life, the subject would be one of comparatively trifling importance. But the question of health is one of far deeper interest. As the indispensable condition for fulfilling the moral duties of life, for attaining the full intellectual stature of a perfect man, the care of the health becomes a matter of even religious interest. We can hardly explain how it has come about, that it is so seldom considered in this light. We surely need not labor the point to prove, that he who enfeebles his bodily, and by consequence his mental powers, by indulgence or neglect, and thus narrows his sphere of usefulness and lessens his capacity of doing good, is as morally responsible for this as for any other misuse of the talents God has given him. Yet what a lamentable waste of vital power do we see among men otherwise estimable and intelligent, but who seem to think that this is the one possession of which they have a full right to be prodigal, and that they are only responsible for the proper use of that amount of health which the profoundest ignorance and the utmost carelessness shall happen to leave them! When this waste of life is incurred in the pursuit of noble and generous purposes, we feel a regret all the deeper, in proportion to the increased value of its object.

We know there is a view, falsely called religious, which considers pain a benevolent dispensation of Providence, and professes to value illness for the trials it brings, and the improvement they may produce. Such a view, however just when applied to inevitable suffering, is the merest superstition and asceticism when urged, as we have lately seen it in a very remarkable instance,* against any diminution of disease and suffering which lies within our power. We look upon every discovery that tends to diminish man's physical suffer-

* We allude to the *religious* objections which have been urged against the use of chloroform.

ing, not merely as a temporal blessing for which we should be grateful, but as a new help to the moral and spiritual elevation of the race, and on both grounds a subject worthy the attention of every philanthropist.

For these reasons, we propose to give in the present article some account of the new heresy in medicine, — or, we should rather call it, the new discovery in hygiene, — the water-cure. We are deeply convinced, from personal experience and observation, that it is a discovery which is destined to exert a more powerful influence in raising the standard of health of the community, and reforming popular habits, than any other agency ; while at the same time its simplicity and the universality of its application render it a subject of more than a merely professional interest. We think it deserves the candid examination of every one who feels any desire to improve the condition of his fellow-men. We shall give such a general account as will be suitable for these pages of the origin and history of the treatment, referring our readers for more scientific detail to the various works which have appeared on the subject.

The history of the origin of the water-cure is not a little remarkable. Somewhere about the year 1820, a young Silesian farmer happened to observe a man, who had burned his hand in an iron-foundry, curing it by the application of cold water. The success of this novel method set him upon considering whether it was the only application that could be made of this universally diffused element for the cure of disease. He therefore made various experiments upon inflammations and the simpler maladies of his neighbours, and also upon his cattle. His success was such, that he gained considerable reputation among the inhabitants of the district in which he lived. Just at this time he was thrown from his horse and broke several of his ribs, and was otherwise so injured that the physicians of his village gave him small hope of recovery through the resources of their art. He therefore courageously resolved to trust himself to his new mode of treatment, and, to the astonishment of his neighbours, he recovered in a wonderfully short space of time. His fame now spread abroad, and strangers came to him from a distance to be healed. He continued his experiments, gradually multiplying and varying his processes, to suit the ever-widening circle of diseases which were brought to him. The number of his patients, and of his cures, steadily increased, till at length

he roused that conservative jealousy which never slumbers long when there is a heresy to be hunted down, and he was denounced to the Austrian government as an unlicensed quack. A medical commission was appointed to examine his proceedings. So incredulous were these commissioners as to the fact, that his undeniable success was attributable to the cold water which he used, that they submitted it to analysis, and even minutely examined his sponges and towels, to discover the hidden medicaments which effected such surprising cures. They found none, but neither could they find any thing against him. Using no drugs, he had infringed no law against practising without a license, and the testimony of his patients was unanimously in his favor. "You say," said a commissioner to one of them, "that you have been treated by a physician, and by Herr Priessnitz; which of them relieved you?" "Both," was the answer; "one relieved me of my money, and the other of my gout." The commission were forced to render a favorable report, and it is to the honor of the liberal and enlightened Baron Turkheim, who was at its head, that he remained the friend of Priessnitz. "Gentlemen," said he to a medical society who asked his opinion, "Priessnitz is an honest man, and no impostor; and his mode of treatment is more successful than ours. Believe me, you have much to learn from this countryman."

The history of Priessnitz from this period is but the history of continued and ever-increasing success. His inventive genius and extraordinary powers of observation lost no opportunity of enlarging and perfecting his system, which increasing experience afforded. His fame spread over all Europe, and patients flocked to him from every nation it contains. Up to the year 1841, fifteen years from the commencement of his public practice, he had treated seven thousand two hundred and nineteen patients, and there had been but thirty-nine deaths, or about one twentieth of one per cent. "Some of these," says Dr. Wilson, "I found by the registry, had died before commencing the treatment; and some others were reported in a forlorn state before any thing was attempted." A percentage of deaths so small as this is to be found, we believe, in the records of no hospital that ever existed.

But while no one died, multitudes of invalids who had been given over as past recovery by the regular physicians

were restored to the full enjoyment of life.* The poor victims who had gone the rounds of the doctors, but whom no doctor could cure, now took fresh courage, and the cold, bleak mountains of distant Silesia were filled with the feeble wrecks of beings who before would have thought a Sabbath-day's journey too great a distance to travel from their warm sick-rooms.

Priessnitz's success has continued unabated. During the years 1846 and 1847, according to the Breslau Gazette, Graefenberg was visited by 2,066 patients, and there are at present in Germany over forty other flourishing and successful establishments. In England, there are also several practitioners, among whom Dr. Edward Johnson of London, and Drs. Wilson and Gully of Malvern, are best known on this side the water ; while in this country establishments are springing up on every side, and several have already met with encouraging success.

What, then, is this mode of treatment which has performed such wonders ? That, in general terms, it is a system of constant bathing and exercise, is the amount of information which most people possess. That it is a frightful system of hardship and suffering, — that feeble invalids and tender women are dragged from their beds, in the depth of winter, to be placed under water-spouts and drawn through horse-ponds, — that in cold weather the poor victim has to dispense with nearly all his clothing, and in warm weather is packed away under mountains of feather-beds, — that stoves and fire-places are things unknown, — and that the unhappy sufferer's dinner is never furnished him till it has been passed through the ice-house, is the devout faith of that large class in the community, who, like the facetious Sydney Smith, never examine a subject they wish to pass judgment on, “because it *prejudices* one

* We have no statistics of the cures performed at Graefenberg, but at the celebrated establishment at Marienberg, on the Rhine, out of 264 patients (chiefly chronic) under treatment in 1843, 100 were permanently cured, 74 greatly benefited, 51 partially relieved, 38 remained without improvement, and only one died. At the establishment in Berlin, where the majority of diseases are of an acute character, out of 209 patients treated in the same year, 87 were permanently cured, 25 greatly benefited, 10 partially relieved, 9 left unimproved, and 78 were continuing the treatment. (See Schnitz, *Archiv der Wasserheilkunde*.)

Of 530 patients who visited the establishment at Brattleboro, Vt., during the years 1845, 1846, and 1847, 166 were permanently cured, 157 greatly relieved, 106 partially relieved, 85 left unimproved, 10 proved incurable, and only 6 died.

so." If, on the other hand, we turn to the medical profession for information, we shall learn "that it is a very good thing in its way, but there is nothing very new or wonderful in it. We simply see the effect of air, diet, exercise, and bathing in strengthening the constitution. The beneficial effects of bathing have long been well known to the profession." If the beneficial effects of hydropathy are so old a discovery, it may well be asked why the profession have not sooner taken advantage of it, by substituting it for their usual practice. But we shall have more to say on this point hereafter.

In order to give a clear idea of the nature of the water-treatment, it will be necessary to say a few words on the view of the nature of disease on which it is founded. This view — which the water-cure practitioner holds in common with the rest of the medical profession, which has been held by the great lights of medical science in all ages, and is as old as Hippocrates and Galen — is this : that nature is constantly endeavouring to rid the system of disease by her own unaided efforts ; or, to speak more precisely, that there is always a natural effort of the system to restore itself from an abnormal to a normal condition. What puts the system out of its normal state, — whether the causes of disease be material or immaterial, — are questions which it is by no means necessary to settle, in order to entertain this view. That there is a constant effort of nature to remove disease from the system, whatever its cause may be, is the fundamental proposition on which the water-treatment rests. The result of this effort is a variety of natural *crises*, by which the different diseases that affect the system become fully developed, and pass away. Fevers, inflammations, eruptions, diarrhoea, etc., are examples of such natural crises.

Now in a state of nature, where men are guilty of no infringement of the laws of their being, but follow a simple and healthful mode of life, nature alone is sufficient to preserve the health. But with civilization come vice, luxury, and indulgence, unnatural habits and unhealthy modes of life, and then follows the dark train of diseases as the natural consequence of the violation of God's laws. Nature is no longer sufficient to preserve the human system from the destructive effects of this new cohort of ills, and art must be called in to assist her.

But how shall she be assisted ? Surely not by taking the business out of her hands, and proceeding in quite a different

manner. Art can never thus overstep or disregard the course of nature. The engineer who would take advantage of the power of steam must build his machine in conformity with the laws of expanding vapor ; the pilot who would steer his ship safely into port must not vainly set his prow against the wind and tide. So the physician who would meet with any true success must humbly study nature's ways, and be content to be her servant and assistant. This the water-cure practitioner attempts to do. His efforts are confined to two distinct, though similar, objects. He either seeks to give the system of his patient the strength necessary to produce a natural development, from which follows a natural cure of the disease ; or, where that development has taken place, he seeks so to mitigate and govern its symptoms, that the system of the patient may not be destroyed by the process, but may be enabled to endure it to the end.

Thus the hydropathic processes may be divided into two general classes, — stimulating and sedative processes ; and he who has not examined the matter would hardly credit the possibility of applying in such an ingenious variety of ways the action of one simple element to attain these ends. The common idea of the water-cure is, as we have said, that of one rough, uniform mode of treatment for all diseases and for every description of patients. Nothing can be more erroneous. The regular medical practice, with all its drugs, has not a greater variety of treatment than has been gradually elaborated out of this one remedy. The hydropathist has his stimulant, his sedative, his tonic, his purgative, his counter-irritant, etc. He has a varying treatment for every varying shade of disease, and for every variety of patient, from the robust farmer to the delicate female and feeble infant. The preposterous idea, that all cases, no matter what their difference in character, are submitted to the same routine of treatment, serves only to show the amount of ignorance which prevails on the subject.

But however various the treatment, the object aimed at is the same, — to assist the natural efforts of the system to free itself from disease. This end is attained chiefly through the vastly accelerated change of substance which takes place under its influence. This change is so great, that Liebig declared to Sir Charles Scudamore, that he believed “ that a change of matter is effected in a greater degree in six weeks, by means of the water-cure, than would happen in the

ordinary course of nature in three years." * It can easily be seen what a powerful effect such a rapid change of the substance of the body must have upon chronic diseases. Take, for instance, the sufferer from scrofulous or erysipelatous humor. The system of the patient, rendered even unnaturally sluggish by disease, is utterly unable, under the most favorable circumstances of "air, diet, and exercise," alone, to throw off its malady. But apply this powerful, yet harmless, stimulant, enable him to undergo violent sweating without reducing his strength, to take large quantities of plain and nourishing food without oppressing his stomach, to acquire the vigor which the coldest bathing gives without the risk of catarrh or rheumatism, and to take constant and active exercise without the danger of over-fatigue, and the result will be that the patient will be *made over*, as it were, and the disease expelled from his system. Or take the wretched victim of dyspepsia, who, with his digestive powers destroyed, his nerves unstrung, and his intellect confused and clouded, is hanging over the brink of the grave. He has gone the rounds of physicians, and exhausted the pharmacopœia, and every new drug he has swallowed has only made him worse. He has travelled, but only to find the truth of the Latin poet's well-known adage. With aching head and feeble muscles, he has compelled himself to labor, to see if he might dig from the bosom of mother-earth the so much needed blessing. But his head has only ached the worse, and his limbs have refused to do their office. He is a useless, helpless creature, to whom life is a burden, and death would be a relief. Put him now under the hydropathic process, and he shall be turned into a new man. His parched and shrivelled skin shall be restored to life, his stomach shall regain its tone, his nerves shall no longer be the source of the acutest misery, but again become the medium of healthful and pleasurable sensations, his unclouded brain shall once more see the world in its natural colors, and he shall be restored, a useful and happy member, to society. These are no fancy sketches. We could produce examples of all that we describe.

A comparison of the water-cure with the ordinary medical practice with drugs will put the advantages of the for-

* See the opinion of Sir Charles Scudamore in Drs. Wilson & Gully's *Practice of the Water-Cure*, p. 130.

mer in a striking light. Let us imagine two patients diseased to about the same degree, and both, though curable, yet requiring immediate and active treatment. One begins his course of physic, which soon destroys the tone of his stomach, weakens his whole digestive system, and consequently his muscular and nervous system also. If at first he was capable of taking exercise in the open air, he loses the power, and is soon confined to his easy-chair in the heated atmosphere of a close sick-chamber. Thus, one by one, is he deprived of all nature's supports, and now the contest must go on in his debilitated system between disease and drugs, if, indeed, they do not always fight upon the same side. Is not this the history of many a chronic invalid, who has worn out a life of helplessness and suffering in a sick-room? The other patient, immediately upon his admission, is placed under the influence of a course of baths, such as best suits his case, being tepid or cold, violent or gentle, according to his powers of endurance and the nature of his disease. By their influence equilibrium is restored to the circulations, his nervous system is strengthened, his muscular power increased, and the skin, the great outlet of waste matter, brought into vigorous action. He retains or acquires the power of exercising in the open air, and this power he finds daily on the increase. His appetite and digestive powers are marvelously strengthened, and new and healthy life is sent to every other part of the system. Thus advantage is taken, to the utmost possible extent, of every chance of recovery which nature gives him. But this is not all. The vital processes, as we have before shown, are all accelerated far beyond their natural degree of activity. The change of substance in the system proceeds with unexampled rapidity. The diseased matter is expelled to make way for new and healthy substance, and in the completion of this change consists the restoration to health. The process is neither obscure nor difficult to detect. The final result of the treatment is almost invariably a *crisis* of some sort, consisting in the appearance of boils, eruptions, critical diarrhœa, and other modes by which the invigorated system rids itself of disease. It is a remarkable, but perfectly well authenticated fact, that drugs, which have lain dormant in the system sometimes for years, make their appearance clearly perceptible to the senses, and are expelled from the body during these crises.

Now these last results are such as cannot by any possibility be attributed to the good influence of "air, diet, and exercise." We are perfectly willing to acknowledge that there is a large class of cases in which restoration may be effected by these agents alone; that is, that there are many invalids who might recover their health merely by a complete change of habits, and by leading a simple and active life. In these cases there is, as the skeptic is so fond of saying, "nothing so very wonderful"; though it would be nothing short of a miracle, if even these were radically cured by drugs. But we claim for the water-treatment that it will cure such patients in a few months, where "air, diet, and exercise" alone would require years; and we claim, furthermore, (and we are ready to support our claim by proofs,) that this is the very smallest part of the triumphs of the system, — that there is a much larger class of diseases, which are utterly incurable by "air, diet, and exercise," which yield readily and easily to the hydropathic treatment, and that among these are some of the gravest maladies incident to the human frame. What physician ever trusts to "air, diet, and exercise," to cure small-pox, or typhus fever, tic douloureux, or erysipelas? Yet hydropathy has cured them all; and though we do not claim for it the character of an infallible or of a universal remedy, yet the number of grave diseases which come within its power is far greater than of those where it cannot be employed.*

This would not be the place to enter upon a minute description of the various processes which make up the cure. For this we refer our readers to any of the numerous manuals on the subject.† We must speak, however, of one of the most important and most generally useful, for it deserves

* Of the latter class are "all kinds of consumption which have reached the inflammatory stage, though in its incipient stages no remedy is more efficacious, — all inveterate paralytic diseases, where sensation has left the limb, — cancer and cancerous diseases, though some are curable, — and almost all cases of epilepsy." Among curable complaints are fevers and eruptive diseases of all kinds, not excluding small-pox, and typhus and scarlet fever, — scrofula, gout, rheumatism, and many forms of dropsy, — all forms of dyspepsia, that fruitful parent of so many ills, — diseases (when not organic) of the heart, liver, and other internal organs, etc. For cases under all these various diseases, see Gully's *Water-Cure in Chronic Disease*, and the German Water-Cure Reports, among which those contained in Schmitz's *Archiv der Wasserheilkunde* deserve special mention.

† See particularly *The Philosophy of the Water-Cure*, by Dr. Balbirnie, and *The Theory of the Water-Cure*, by Drs. Wilson & Gully.

special attention. We refer to the *wet-sheet packing*. This process consists, as most of our readers probably know, in enveloping the body of the patient, first, in a linen sheet wrung out in cold water, and then in thick blankets, in such a manner as to exclude the external air, and placing over all, if necessary, a light feather-bed. The object, of course, is to produce perspiration, and we need not say that that object is very generally attained. But we do not doubt that to many this will appear a very fantastic, and to many a very formidable operation. Why not, it will be asked, employ the steam-bath? Attempts have been made to substitute this more common application, but without success. It is found that it excites merely a superficial perspiration, but never rouses the internal organs, and never produces the critical eruptions which are the result of the *packing*. We cannot here go into an explanation of this difference. It is sufficient to state it as a fact. The beneficial effect of thus thoroughly opening the pores of the skin, and accelerating the expulsion of waste matter from the system, can easily be understood. The debility which would ensue from it, if employed alone, is fully provided against by the cold bath which succeeds it. In regard to discomfort, we can only say that our own pretty thorough experience has proved it to be any thing but uncomfortable, and this we think is the experience of the majority of patients. It generally soothes any excitement of the nervous system, and produces a sound and comfortable sleep; and we know of no more positive luxury than to leap afterwards into the clear, cold, sparkling water of the "plunge-bath." One comes out from such a process with a feeling of new vigor in every limb. It is to be remarked, that, by this combination of sweating with bathing, a much lower degree of cold can be applied to the system than would be possible in any other way. Though it is the practice of many patients to proceed from the sheet into water of 45° and even 40° Fahrenheit, yet we have never known a case where rheumatism or any other injury was produced by it. Of course, however, it is only the most robust patients who would use water of such a temperature.

We have dwelt the longer upon this part of the treatment, because of its great usefulness. Extravagant as the opinion may seem, we place it second to no medical discovery of the age. When, however, we state that this simple process is an all-sufficient remedy for fevers of every kind, not ex-

cepting the most dangerous, and that it is equally useful in all eruptive diseases, that it will perfectly control typhus, scarlet fever, and ship fever, that under its application even the small-pox loses its terrors, and the deadly attacks of croup can be averted, we shall perhaps be allowed to have good reason for our opinion. We make these assertions, not as matters of theory merely, but as actual facts, fully proved by experiment.* We consider the physician of the present day inexcusable, who does not make himself acquainted with so simple, yet so powerful a remedy. Of its perfect safety, even in the most delicate cases, we have had ample personal evidence. We have repeatedly subjected our own children to the process, and, in two instances at least, in cases of serious disease, once in an attack of croup, and once in an aggravated case of that troublesome eruption, "milk crust." In the latter case, a disease which commonly lasts six, nine, and even twelve months yielded readily in one, and with comparatively no suffering to the little patient. Both these were cases of infants less than eight months of age.

The *douche* is another of the applications by which the water-cure is best known. It consists in a stream of cold water, of from two to three or four inches in diameter, falling perpendicularly from a height of from five to ten or fifteen feet. It is taken on all but the more tender parts of the body, but never on the head, and though it may appear to the uninitiated a very formidable application, is yet much easier to bear, and far more strengthening and exhilarating, than will easily be believed. It is by no means, however, of universal application.†

But our limits will not allow us to follow out the details of the treatment. We think we have said enough to show that it is a subject deserving an impartial investigation at the

* We are informed by Dr. Robert Wesselhoest, now at the head of the hydropathic establishment in Brattleboro, that out of thirty-three cases of malignant scarlet fever which occurred in his practice in Cambridge, in the year 1842, and were treated by him with the wet sheet, etc., not one proved fatal, and that in more than thirty cases of typhus, which he has treated in the same way, he has been equally successful, having never lost a patient.

† The same may be said of shower-baths, which are employed less often in hydropathic practice than any other bath. The indiscriminate use of shower-baths, so common now-a-days, seems to us to threaten serious mischief. To many, especially to nervous constitutions, they are positively injurious. Daily sponging with cold water in the common bathing-pan is quite as efficacious, and far more safe.

hands of all who have the welfare of their fellow-men at heart. That a discovery of the kind was needed, we think will be denied by no one who has had experience of the common method of medication. The mischiefs which often attend that treatment are becoming recognized by the community, and medical practitioners themselves are tacitly acknowledging the defects of their system by gradually relinquishing more and more the practice of administering powerful and poisonous drugs. Probably not one half the amount of active medicine is given now by intelligent and well-educated physicians that was given fifty, or even twenty, years ago. A greater reliance upon nature's curative power, and a greater reluctance to interfere with her operations by active and violent remedies, mark the present practice of the regular physicians. The change has come full late, and not till the effects of the old method had made themselves but too evident by the amount of incurable chronic disease it produced. The most hopeless patients who make their appearance at a water establishment are victims of the old practice ; for in them not only has the original disease to be combated, but a host of inveterate secondary ills, the product of these violent and pernicious remedies, also. Fever-and-ague scarcely offers an appreciable resistance to the water-treatment ; but if the patient have saturated his system with calomel, (and who among the thousand sufferers from this disease in our Western country has not ?) he has brought upon himself a far worse and more obstinate evil. The various diseases of the nervous system, wherever they can be met alone, are seldom incurable ; but if the nerves have been deadened and diseased by laudanum, the case at once becomes difficult, if not desperate. Hydropathy can cure the gout, but it cannot always overcome the far worse effects of colchicum. Not the least valuable among the incidental results of hydropathy will be the increased distrust, already strong in the public mind, in regard to the excessive use of drugs. We will not here discuss the question, what is the real value of drugs, or how far their true action is understood, even by the medical profession. The members of that profession have very generally acknowledged, by a marked change of practice, that they have been administered to excess ; and the question is at least worth entertaining, whether a safer substitute may not be found for even their moderate use.

We look to the prevalence of hydropathy for wider and

more beneficial results in the prevention, than even in the cure of diseases. Here the treatment by drugs is worse than useless. Let us take a single and most striking instance. We believe, that, by the general adoption of the hydropathic treatment, that dreadful scourge, consumption, might be almost banished from the land. We do not mean that it has power to cure confirmed cases of this fearful disease, — we do not claim for it any such power. But we do mean that what is so often, and so vainly, striven for, by change of climate, by artificial protection of the lungs, by all the devices which the resources of science can furnish or the anxious care of affection contrive, is attained with almost perfect certainty by submitting the first indications of the disease to hydropathic treatment. The system is invigorated beyond all danger from the malady ; even strong hereditary tendency may be eradicated ; and the patient, who may be safely considered a certain victim under any other treatment, may acquire a constitution as little liable to its attacks as that of the most healthy.

It needs but a glance at the state of health of the majority of at least the female sex, in any large community, to feel the importance of any safe and certain method for the prevention of disease. Who can look without the profoundest sorrow at the multitudes of pale faces, and slender forms, and feeble and ailing bodies, which meet us among the females in a large city ? Of what overwhelming importance does the question become, when we consider that it is they who are to give birth to the succeeding generation ! The standard of health of the community has already deteriorated from that of our hardy ancestors. We have not their strong constitutions and vigorous frames, for we have not kept their active habits or their simple manners. The increase of a nation's wealth, and the consequent spread of luxurious and effeminate habits, are always marked by a deterioration of national health. When to this are added the effects of the popular ignorance on the subject of physiology, we can be at no loss to account for the low average of health which certainly distinguishes us as a people, and the destructive prevalence among us of certain types of disease. The amount of general debility, of slenderness of constitution, and want of vital power, unaccompanied by, though often resulting in, fixed disease, which prevails, and seems to be endured as a necessary and unavoidable evil, is painfully great. The very idea

of a healthy life seems to be lost sight of by thousands, who live and die scarcely experiencing a single healthy sensation, and never learning the amount of power which a sound body would have given them. We do not know where the mischief is to stop, if no remedy be applied. It is pretty generally acknowledged, that drugs are hardly to be relied on to supply deficient vital energy, or to remedy the thousand obscure and nameless complaints of the present day. These evils can be met only by a return to simpler and healthier ways, and it is not the least merit of the water-treatment that it is founded on and necessitates this return. Pure air and vigorous exercise, a simple diet, free from the poisonous perversions of luxury, and the constant practice of cold bathing, though not the whole, are an essential part of the means of cure, and induce habits which the patient when once cured will be loath ever to lay aside. We hope thus to see a gradual improvement brought about in the habits of the community, for it is upon this far more than upon drugs and physicians that we must rely for any real improvement in the health of the people.

We hope that the very imperfect account of this new system, which we have given our readers, will lead them to make further inquiries. We are aware that we have made large demands on their belief, and it is right that such demands should be thoroughly examined. We are confident that further investigation will only convince them that this is no ephemeral delusion, but a treatment of disease founded on and in harmony with the laws of nature, and destined to keep its place among the most valuable of known remedial agents. We trust we may in part repay the debt of gratitude we ourselves owe it, by bringing it to the notice of some for whom perhaps there is no other hope.*

Of the books whose titles we have placed at the head of our article, that by Dr. Gully, though perhaps liable to the

* We have said nothing in the text of the charge of *danger*, which is sometimes brought against the water-cure, because we believe it to be entirely unfounded. That in the hands of ignorant and incapable quacks it may do much mischief, we have no doubt; but when properly understood, we consider it as much less dangerous, as it is more efficacious, than the ordinary treatment with drugs. Out of nearly two hundred fellow-patients with whom we have been acquainted while under the care of the cautious and intelligent practitioner at Brattleboro, though we have often heard complaints of ill-success, we never heard but one of injury resulting from the treatment, and that was merely temporary.

charge of one-sidedness in its view of the origin of disease, is yet a very valuable and a deeply interesting work. We think that few who take an interest in such subjects, or who are unhappily forced to pay attention to them, will lay it down unfinished. The pamphlet of Dr. Forbes is an impartial and highly favorable examination of the subject by an accomplished English physician, well known and highly respected by the profession in America. The last-mentioned pamphlet is an account of the best and most successful establishment that has yet been formed in this country.

W. P. A.

ART. IV.—HISTORY OF THE JEWS.*

THIS book is called, in the Preface written by Dr. Jenks, a "republication enlarged and enriched by his Judæo-Christian friend, Mr. Berk." Of what it is a republication, or where and by whom the original work was written, the book does not inform us. A work with essentially the same title, and with much of the same matter, was published in 1842, in New York, by M. A. Berk, the publisher of the present volume. That contains a "Preface to the Scottish edition," from which we infer that the work was originally given to the world in Scotland. The American editions have each a preface by Dr. Brownlee, and both prefaces bear date the same day, "New York, February 16, 1842." In the present work, Dr. Brownlee's preface is called "Preface to the first edition"; but on comparing it with his other preface, we find the two very different, a few sentences only from the first being incorporated into the second. The text of the original production is often altered in the present volume, and the changes are far from being always improvements. The style of the original work is much superior to that of the additions, and the incorporation of the new matter is often awkwardly executed. So that the present "History" has an

* *The History of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity to the Present Time; comprising their Conquests, Dispersions, Wanderings, Persecutions, Commercial Enterprises, Literature, Manners, Customs, and Forms of Worship, with an Account of the various Efforts made for their Conversion. Compiled from the most authentic Sources. With a Preface by WILLIAM JENKS, D.D.* Boston: Published by M. A. Berk. 1847. 12mo. pp. 476.

unpleasant air of bookmaking about it. It is well recommended, however, by Professor Stuart, Dr. Jenks, and other gentlemen of reputation, and affords much information respecting the condition of the Jews since the Captivity, showing how the favored people of God have become the despised of men, and with what an indomitable spirit they have met persecution and degradation, — branded, gibbeted, burned, banished, hated for their infidelity, courted for their wealth, exiled only to return, and crushed only to rise.

After Christianity had gained the ascendancy over Paganism in the Roman empire, the Jews were subjected to contumely, oppression, and persecution. The nominal followers of Christ had little of his spirit. They thought more of avenging his injuries than of imitating his example. The Emperors were generally willing to protect the Jews, but could not always restrain the zeal of the Churchmen. The bishop of Callinicum, in the reign of Theodosius, stirred up the populace to burn a Jewish synagogue, and when the Emperor ordered reparation to be made to the sufferers, Ambrose, the celebrated archbishop of Milan, remonstrated against the edict, declared that he would have acted like the bishop of Callinicum, and succeeded in preventing the punishment of the outrage. A similar case occurred in the fifth century, when some individuals who had plundered a Jewish synagogue at Antioch were saved from punishment by the interposition of the famous Simeon, called Stylites from having passed his life on the top of a column in the open air, in Syria, a madman whom the superstition of his age converted into a saint, one of those conspicuous monuments of past folly that help to show the subsequent progress of mankind.

About the beginning of the fifth century, the Jews were exposed to much persecution, provoked and unprovoked. The city of Alexandria, at that period, was the scene of a sanguinary conflict between them and the Christians, the former amounting to about forty thousand. The Christians were led by their archbishop, Cyril, better fitted for a leader of marauders than a teacher of the Gospel. The Jews were routed and expelled from the city, their houses plundered, and their synagogues appropriated to the use of the Church. Through bribery or bigotry, the imperial government took no notice of the seditious conduct of Cyril. Several other acts of sanguinary violence stain the name of this ecclesiastic.

In the reign of Justinian, the Jews and Samaritans were systematically persecuted. The latter rebelled, ravaged the country, and destroyed the churches and the priests, until they were routed and cut to pieces or sold as slaves. A hundred thousand persons are said to have perished in this revolt.

When Wamba ascended the throne of Spain, A. D. 672, he ordered all unconverted Jews to leave the kingdom. Under his successor, Ervig, a council was held at Toledo, which subjected them to a hundred lashes, as well as to banishment and confiscation of goods, for blaspheming the name of Christ, or violating the Lord's day, for celebrating any of their national festivals, or refusing to be baptized. They were forbidden to marry, to read Hebrew books, and to hold places of trust and authority. It is not surprising that people thus treated were ready to join the Saracens when they invaded Spain during the reign of Roderic. As long as the Mussulmans held possession of that country, the Jews enjoyed a peace and prosperity such as they had not experienced since the time of their dispersion.

In France they were regarded much as in Spain. Various French synods, in the sixth and seventh centuries, forbade them to intermarry with Christians, and made many invidious distinctions between them and true believers. During the reign of Charlemagne, they enjoyed the most liberal toleration, and shared in the general prosperity. This policy was continued during the reigns of his son Louis and his grandson Charles.

The annals of Italy at this period afford few examples of the persecutions which disgraced nearly all the other states of Europe. The true cause, probably, was the insignificance of the few Israelites in that country.

In the twelfth century, the Jews in France suffered the most shameful treatment, partly on account of the cupidity which their wealth excited. They were accused of poisoning the fountains, stealing young children in order to crucify them, and purloining the sacred elements from the churches in order to abuse them. The enraged populace often attacked their houses, drove them from city to city, and put them to death by the sword or the stake. The periods of the Crusades were very fatal to them. The men who were maddened with fanatical zeal against foreign infidels had little mercy on unbelievers at home.

In the year 1180, the Jews in France were the richest

class in the kingdom. The enormous usury which they exacted added to the odium in which they were held. In the next year, King Philip Augustus confiscated all their immovable property, extinguished all debts due to them, with the exception of a fifth part which he ordered to be paid to himself, and commanded them to leave the kingdom ; but some years after, they were permitted to return. At this period, they were excluded from most of the common occupations by popular prejudice. Their butchers were said to sell refuse meat to Christians, and their milkmen the milk of their wives. But their money does not seem to have been objected to, and they made the most of it. In 1206, Philip Augustus, by way of protecting their debtors, enacted that the legal rate of interest should not exceed two *deniers* on the *livre* weekly, which, however, would amount to upwards of forty per cent. per annum. The Jews endeavoured to evade the law by engaging their debtors to pay interest for a larger sum than was actually borrowed. In 1306, Philip the Fair expelled them from France and confiscated their property, but his son Louis X. permitted them to return, as his people found them so useful in pecuniary transactions, that they solicited their recall. A pestilence broke out in France in 1321, and a report was spread that the Jews had bribed the lepers to poison the fountains and rivers. The people thereupon tortured and massacred and burned the Jews, and the king confiscated their property.

During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Jews were ordered to leave Spain, and eight hundred thousand men, women, and children were driven into exile in the course of a few weeks. Such as could not depart were condemned to death or sold as slaves ; many were shipwrecked on inhospitable coasts, and thirty thousand are said to have perished on the ocean.

Manuel, king of Portugal, in 1496, banished the Jews from his dominions, and ordered that all their children under fourteen years of age should be taken from them and brought up in the Christian faith. Many of them, on hearing of this decree, killed themselves or their children in despair. In almost every part of Europe, at this period, they suffered persecution.

In 1348, when the terrible disease known as "the black death" came from India, like the cholera of our own day, to desolate Europe, the Jews were accused of poisoning the

waters and polluting the atmosphere by magical arts. The rulers attempted in vain to protect them. At Strasburg, the impatient multitude broke open the prisons, dragged out their victims, placed them on a large pile of combustibles, set it on fire, and shouted with rapture while the Hebrews were burning. From that time till the period of the French Revolution, Jews were not allowed to reside within the walls of the city. They might enter it during the daytime, but every evening a horn was blown from the tower of the cathedral to warn them to depart. The spot where the conflagration took place is now known by the name of Fire Street.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century, there was a report spread throughout Brabant, that the Jews had carried away from the principal church sixteen consecrated hosts, in order to pierce them with knives, a practice of which they were often accused in the Middle Ages. Three Jews in consequence were torn with red-hot pincers, and afterwards burned, in May, 1370, and a jubilee was instituted, to take place every fifty years, in commemoration of this event. As late as 1820, this festival was celebrated. The sixteen wounded hosts were carried in procession, the houses were hung with tapestry and the streets strewed with flowers, and the joy of the people was expressed by banquets, concerts, fireworks, and a general illumination. The most charitable, and perhaps the true, view of such a celebration in the nineteenth century is, that people are reluctant to part with accustomed holidays.

In England, the treatment of the unhappy race of Israel was equally outrageous. During the preparations for the crusade of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the crusaders, by way of showing their zeal against unbelievers, plundered and massacred the Jews at Norwich, Stamford, and St. Edmondsbury. At York a more dreadful tragedy was enacted. A rich man of that place, named Benedict, having submitted to baptism and afterwards relapsed into Judaism, was so ill-treated that he died; his house was plundered, and his wife and children murdered. The other Jews fled to the castle, barred the gates against the governor, and determined to stand a siege. At length, seeing that they could not make good their defence, they buried their gold and silver, burned their other effects, slew their wives and children, set the castle on fire, and then fell by their own hands. Richard's successor, the profligate John, for some time treated the

Jews in his dominions with favor, but at length seized on them and confiscated their property. An Israelite of Bristol, refusing to comply with the king's demand of ten thousand marks, was daily deprived of a tooth. When about to lose the eighth, he yielded and paid the money. During the reign of Edward the First, two hundred and eighty Jews were executed in London for clipping and adulterating the coin. Some time after, an act of Parliament was passed, forbidding all usury, and thus cutting off the principal source of their wealth. Even all previous debts due to them were cancelled upon the mere payment of the principal. In 1290, Edward banished them from his dominions. The exiles are estimated at about sixteen thousand. For four centuries from that time no Jew resided in England but at the hazard of his life. Under the Protectorate of Cromwell, the Jews entered into negotiations with him to be allowed to settle again in Great Britain, but without success. After the Restoration, they seem to have returned quietly, without permission or opposition, during the reign of Charles II. ; and since that time, they have been on the same footing as other aliens with respect to entering the country. In 1753, an act was passed to enable foreign Jews to be naturalized in England without taking the sacrament, but the act was repealed, under the influence of popular feeling, at the next session of Parliament. The Penny Cyclopædia (Vol. XIII., article *Jews*, published in 1839) says :—“ Since that year [1753] no legislative act has been passed with special reference to the Jews. They are still incapacitated from being members of Parliament and filling various offices in this country.” Within a few months, however, a Jew has been elected a member of the English Parliament, and a bill is now before that body for repealing the disabilities to which the Jewish subjects of the English government are subjected.

In the States of the Church the Jews have been usually protected by the Popes, but under Paul IV. they were forbidden to pursue any branch of commerce except money-lending, and a zealous Dominican, Sixtus of Sienna, was sent from Rome to Cremona to burn a splendid library which they had collected there. The monk relates that he committed to the flames twelve thousand volumes. Gregory XIII. subjected them to the control of the Inquisition, prohibited them from reading the Talmud or other books hostile to Christianity, and obliged them to hear sermons which were stated-

ly delivered for their conversion. Their behaviour on these occasions is said to have been far from decorous.

In the northern states of Europe they were exposed to persecutions similar to those which they had experienced at the south.

The Jews first arrived in Poland in 1096. In general, they have been much more favorably treated there than in most other parts of Europe. They have therefore flourished remarkably in that country, and have been distinguished for wealth and erudition, so that it was once customary for Jews to send their children from all parts of Europe to be educated in Polish seminaries.

While the United Provinces were under the yoke of Austria or Spain, the Jews had little favor. But after these provinces had emancipated themselves from the tyranny of Philip II., they were allowed to settle there without restriction. In Holland, they cultivated rabbinical learning, and their academies produced various distinguished men.

About three hundred years ago, a number of Spanish Jews obtained from the Sultan of Turkey permission to settle at Constantinople and to establish a printing-press there. They enjoyed toleration, and soon engrossed almost the whole trade of the Levant. The present number of Jews there is estimated at from sixty to eighty thousand.

In the seventeenth century, there appeared among the Jews a noted claimant of the character of the Messiah. His name was Sabbathai Sevi. He was born in 1625, and was the son of a poulterer at Smyrna or Aleppo. He early began to distinguish himself by the austerity of his life, and soon proclaimed that he was the expected Messiah. As a proof of his divine mission, he ventured to pronounce the ineffable name, Jehovah. The rabbins declared him worthy of death, and he fled to Thessalonica, and thence to Jerusalem. After residing there several years, he returned to Egypt, married, repaired anew to Jerusalem, was denounced as a blasphemous impostor, excommunicated, and constrained to leave the city. He fled to Smyrna, gained over the people by his seeming sanctity, took the title of King of the kings of the earth, and being urged by his friends to repair to Constantinople in order to deprive the Grand Seignior of his crown, was obliged at last to yield to their importunity. Soon after arriving there, he surrendered himself to the authorities, and was confined in the castle of Sestos, where he was allowed

to have free intercourse with his partisans. At length the Grand Seignior sent for him, and told him that he would test his pretensions to a miraculous character by shooting three poisoned arrows at him, and that, if he did not choose to submit to this trial, he must embrace Mohammedanism or suffer death. He preferred to become a Mussulman. Even this, however, did not undeceive all his followers; Sabbathai affirming that he had acted by the command of God, and that the words of Isaiah, "He was numbered with the transgressors," predicted his temporary acknowledgment of the Mohammedan faith. He was subsequently imprisoned again at Belgrade, where he died in the year 1676, in the fiftieth year of his age. His followers did not abandon his cause at his death, and the sect of the Sabbathaites still exists.

In the eighteenth century, a remarkable sect originated among the Jews in Poland, and is still in existence. It is called the Chasidim, which signifies *the pious*. The founder was a man named Bescht, who, it is said, lived in Tlaczsty, in Poland, in 1740, and died in 1780. The supernatural works and wonderful adventures of this man are related in a book printed in Berditschef in 1814. The following are among the doctrines of the Chasidim:—

"The foundation of faith is faith in the Zaddik [or head of the sect]: to him the greatest reverence is due. Should it sometimes appear that the Zaddik's conduct is in opposition to the law of God, yet the people must believe that he does what is right; for the laws are given to the wise to interpret at all times according to their pleasure. The Zaddik is at liberty even to abrogate the law, and to institute new ones in its stead.

"In judging of the Zaddik, the Chasid is bound to renounce his reason and conviction, and implicitly to bow to the opinion of the Zaddik: so long as any one thinks that he possesses a judgment of his own, and is capable of acting for himself, so long is his attachment to the Zaddik not perfect. Those only can arrive at this excellent degree of piety who renounce their own reason, feelings, and experience, and adopt in all things, implicitly, the will of the Zaddik.

"The Zaddik must be to the Chasid the first existing being. He must not only be to him more than all men, but more than God, because God has made over to the Zaddik the government of this world.

"The more conveniences and pleasure the Zaddik enjoys, the better he is able to qualify himself for the seat of rest, for the Shekinah, and the more grace and abundance will be imparted.

to the people, both in this and in the future world ; therefore shall no one pass over the threshold of the Zaddik with empty hands."

This benighted sect dwell, like Milton's fallen angels, in darkness visible.

In 1750, Frederic II. of Prussia issued an edict which allowed but a limited number of Jews to reside in his dominions, subjected them to heavy burdens, and forbade foreign Jews to settle there. In 1791, the National Assembly of France admitted the Jews to equal rights with other citizens. Five years afterwards, a similar decree was passed in Holland.

During the present century, many of the German governments have done much to improve their condition ; but in several of the great trading towns, such as Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, and particularly Frankfort, much ill-will is still manifested towards them. The first American edition of the work before us has a note containing these words : — " In one city, I believe it is Munich, there was, and probably yet is, a large sign over the main gate on which these words are blazoned, — ' No hog nor Jew allowed to pass through this gate.' " In 1820, this feeling led to serious disturbance in various places, as Meiningen, Wurtzburg, Hamburg, Copenhagen, and very recent accounts from Europe state that the Jews have been ill-treated in the disturbed duchy of Posen. The Russian government has, during the nineteenth century, subjected the Jews to many tyrannical restrictions. They are still excluded from Spain by the decree of Ferdinand and Isabella. There are, however, about two thousand of them at Gibraltar under British protection. The Turks until lately have treated them with contempt, but a late ordinance of the Turkish government provides, that Greeks, Catholics, and Jews shall be entitled to all the benefits of the laws equally with Mohammedans. In 1840, a horrible persecution of the Jews at Damascus, occasioned by the absurd belief that they require Gentile blood for the celebration of the passover, produced a lively sensation in Europe, and led to interference on the part of the British government. In Persia the condition of the Jews is peculiarly hard.

The book before us contains some evidence to show that a large body of Jews reside in Bucharria, and these the writer supposes to be descendants of the ten lost tribes.

The number of the scattered members of the tribe of Judah and the half-tribe of Benjamin is said to exceed five millions. In 1808, the number of Jews in France was computed to be 80,000. In London, their number is said to be about 18,000, and in the other parts of England about 9,000. In Sweden, it is estimated at nearly 1,700; in the Danish states, at about 15,000. The Penny Cyclopædia (article *Jews*) estimates their number in Italy at 36,000; in the Austrian empire, at 520,000; in Prussia, at 150,000; in the rest of Germany, at 138,000; in Holland and Belgium, at 80,000; in Russia and Poland, at 658,000. In the Turkish dominions they have been vaguely estimated at 800,000. In Morocco there are said to be about 340,000. And there are many of them in Arabia, Persia, India, Tartary, China, and other parts of the East. In the United States there are supposed to be about fifty thousand, of whom twelve or thirteen thousand reside in New York, four thousand in Philadelphia, one thousand in Baltimore, a large body in South Carolina, and the rest dispersed throughout the Union. In Buffalo, Pittsburg, St. Louis, New Orleans, Cincinnati, and other cities of the West, many of them are found. A large proportion of those in the United States are peddlers or wandering traders.

Since 1832, when Mehemet Ali took possession of Syria, there has been a remarkable confluence of the Jews towards Palestine, where it is said that forty thousand now reside. The Hebrew language, which is nowhere else spoken on ordinary occasions, is the colloquial language of the Jews of Jerusalem.

We have prepared this sketch from the materials furnished by the book under review, with the addition of a few facts from the Penny Cyclopædia. The Appendix contains many particulars respecting the practices and ceremonies of the Jews. We extract the following account from one of the chapters. It is but fair, however, to admit that they contain nothing else equally absurd. The feast of Atonement is celebrated on the tenth day of the year. On the day previous, the Jews rise very early, go into the synagogue, and pray and sing. As soon as they return, every male — boys as well as men — takes a cock in his hands, and the women each a hen. Then the master of the family, with the cock in his hands, comes into the middle of the company and repeats a passage from Psalm cvii., and afterwards Job xxxiii.

23, 24. When he has repeated the words, "I have found a ransom,"

"He then approaches the atonement, and dashes the cock three times on his own head, and follows each stroke with these words: 'This cock is my substitute, it is in my stead, it is my atonement, it shall suffer death, but I and all Israel shall have a happy life.' He does this three times in succession, for himself, his children, and the strangers that are with him; as the high-priest also made expiation under the Old Testament, according to what we read in the book of Leviticus. He then kills the cock. He first draws together the skin of its throat, and thinks within himself, *that he himself is worthy of being choked or strangled*; he next opens the windpipe with a knife, and again thinks within himself, *that he is worthy to suffer by the sword*; immediately afterwards, he throws it with his whole force on the ground, to denote that *he himself is worthy of being stoned*. Lastly, he roasts the cock, that in this way he may show that *he himself is worthy to be burnt to death*. Thus it is made to suffer these four kinds of death for the Jews.

"The intestines they usually throw on the roof of the house, in commiseration of the birds, that they may share in their sacrifice. Others, however, say that this is done because, sins being an internal, rather than an external thing, their sins cleave to the intestines of the cock, and the crows come and fly away with the sins of the Jews to the desert, even as the goat under the Old Testament escaped to the wilderness with the sins of the people. They also take pains to procure a white cock for this oblation, and avoid a red one altogether, because a red one is already covered with sin; for sin itself is red, as it is written (Is. i. 18), *If your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool*. Now if the cock be white, he is infected with no sin, and can bear the sins of the Jews; but if he be red, he is altogether covered with sins, and is therefore unfit for bearing the sins of the Jews.

"But the cause why they use a cock rather than any other animal is this:—In Hebrew a man is called Gebher. Now if Gebher (man) has sinned, Gebher (man) must also sustain the penalty of sin. But since the punishment is heavier than the Jews can bear, they substitute for themselves a cock, which in the Talmudical or Babylonical dialect is called Gebher, and thus the Divine justice is satisfied: because, as Gebher has sinned, so Gebher, i. e. a cock, is sacrificed." — pp. 440 – 442.

The passage immediately following the one just quoted, and showing how the Jews close the day which they have thus begun, is in a very different strain.

“In their evening assembly in the synagogue, there is generally a deep and solemn feeling awakened. It is commonly believed, that at this time God sits as supreme judge, and disposes of all things; allotting to each individual the events that are to befall him in the ensuing year. The whole congregation are dressed in white garments, kept by them expressly for this occasion, and which garments are finally used as their grave-clothes. It will easily be believed that this is a time of much solemnity; the thoughts of many revert to their dear departed relatives, who perhaps a year before sat beside them, arrayed in those vestments which have since enveloped their breathless clay; while others have the terrors of approaching death brought vividly to their own remembrance. Many sighs and tears accompany the prayers that are then offered up. The rich are to be humbled, by seeing themselves dressed in the same way as the poorest in the assembly; seeing there is a time when all must return into the ground whence they were taken; the vanity of earthly grandeur is thus shown forth, and the equality of all men in the presence of God, as poor and helpless sinners. Service lasts, on this evening, till nearly ten o'clock. A rigid fast is observed for the same length of time, which has been formerly mentioned, not even a drop of water being taken; and on this day, children, only eleven years old, frequently join in the general abstinence; this is not imposed on them as a duty at that early age, but most of them do it willingly.” — p. 442.

On the whole, the book contains much that will be useful and interesting to those who wish to make themselves acquainted with the history of the children of Abraham, whose tenacity of national life and religious faith has for ages astonished mankind. They have been the Pariahs among the nations. They have been hunted over the face of the earth like beasts of the chase. Their portion has been the sword and the rack, the gibbet and the stake. The baron of the Middle Ages crushed them under his iron heel, and the populace of every age since the destruction of Jerusalem has vented its brutal rage on the descendants of those whom Christ was sent to enlighten and to save. But persecution and obloquy have spent their force in vain. The Jew has clung the closer to his religion for the sufferings to which it has subjected him. Amidst torture and ignominy he has heard the voice which spake to Moses from the bush, and seen the pillar of fire which led his fathers in the desert. He is a standing proof, that a revelation from heaven cannot be forgotten, — that when God has spoken, his voice will

never cease to ring in the ears of men. The Jew's faith is undying, because his religion is divine. * E. W.

ART. V. — REVEALED RELIGION.

[A Dudleian Lecture, delivered in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, May 10, 1848. By REV. SAMUEL GILMAN, D. D.]

A GLANCE at the existing condition of theological literature, and at the actual posture of religious life and development, will attest the instinctive sagacity of that excellent man who contemplated these continuous annual discussions. Nearly one hundred years have rolled away since he entailed upon posterity the consideration of those great constituent themes that filled his own mind, — Natural Religion, — Revealed Religion, — the Corruptions of the Church of Rome, — and the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination. Brilliant, in the mean time, as have been the discoveries of science, exciting and successful as has been the race after physical advantages, yet they have neither absorbed nor diluted the intense interest with which these spiritual questions have come down invested to the present generation. As the horizon of the human mind widens, these subjects still seem to find an appropriate and prominent place in the picture. Science has brought, and is still bringing, to view, in the domain of Natural Religion, an immense mass of new and before unimagined materials, out of which the Bridgewater Treatises alone have erected a magnificent intellectual temple to a designing and benevolent Creator. The refined and daring schools of Hume, Voltaire, and Gibbon, with the coarser one of Paine, have within the same period arisen, flourished, and decayed, and although they appear indirectly rather to have stimulated and strengthened, than to have extinguished, the faith of nations, yet much of their direct influence and leaven still exists in various forms, both in the secret, timid heart, and on the fearless, defying lip. The cause of Papal Rome, which in Paul Dudley's day was in a lower condition than it had known for a thousand years, and which, especially in America, possessed scarcely the importance of a shadow, has since slowly raised its head from slumber, has

assumed both in the Old and New Worlds fresh life and vigor, and is even winning back some departments of Protestantism itself into its own antique vitality. At the same time, the principle of Protestantism, on the other hand, is rising to a corresponding elevation of claim, and a still higher degree of activity. A number of its sects, which, a hundred years ago, had either not started into existence, or were confined to the upper chambers of colleges or a few scattered conventicles, have, within that period, expanded into world-renowned denominations, with their own imposing organizations, legislatures, hierarchies, and literatures. The most enlightened, together with the humblest and obscurest of the laity, examine and decide for themselves in regard to every religious subject, with an independence of judgment which would have startled the boldest of their fathers. The aversion of the disciples of Fox to forms and ceremonies of every kind, as well as to ordination by the presbytery, has been inherited by many who bear little other resemblance to that unique denomination. The German schools of philosophy and criticism have carried their speculations to the extreme aim of removing the partitions which divide Inspiration from Reason, — Nature from Revelation. The very Gospels which Dudley held in his hands, and perused as records of historical reality, have been theoretically reduced to dissolving and impalpable myths; and even if allowed not to be myths, their importance has been set aside by the assumption, that the religion they embodied and taught is capable of sufficient development by the unassisted powers of human nature. The mystic visions of the Swedish seer, and the magniloquent utterances of the Mesmeric oracle, have been able to attract their respective multitudes of implicit devotees. The Mormon doctrine of a Bible dug from the earth has found its twelve apostles, who scatter themselves successfully over the world, and build up communities that adhere together with a tenacity defying the severest measures of persecution and extermination. In the midst of all this, there still exist, as of old, large masses of inert ignorance that wait to be illumined, and larger masses of indifference that ought to be awakened. — Such are the varied spirit and tendencies of the current age in reference to religion; and who shall say that the mission of the Dudleian Lecture has become a dead letter, or that it has not ample work marked out for centuries yet to come?

The subject in course for the present year is *Revealed Religion*. I have a few words to offer, explanatory of my feelings and design in approaching the discussion. On receiving, in my distant sphere of labor, the unexpected invitation to deliver the present lecture, I shrank from a compliance, under the sincere conviction that I could positively produce nothing on the subject worth bringing a thousand miles to an emporium already largely supplied. Accustomed, for many years, to enforce upon others by excursive, desultory illustrations those duties that imply and presuppose a revelation from God, I felt afraid of doing injustice to a theme which more than any other is likely to be damaged by inadequate treatment. I could have wished for an earlier period of life, to bestow upon it what vigor and concentration of mind I might ever have commanded. But at length, over these and other restraining considerations the voice and summons of the "Fair Mother" prevailed; for I must pronounce her name in that Saxon English through which gush up for us more tender and beautiful associations than through the smoothest terms of a foreign tongue. Since *she* commanded, I scarcely felt at liberty to disobey. Advancing years, also, could form no valid motive for refusal, while I adverted to the reminiscence that the first lecturer on *Revealed Religion* in this course, and an efficient one he proved to be, was the venerable John Barnard, of Marblehead, at the age of seventy-five! I thought, moreover, that I ought to be willing, at any time of day, to sound the depths of that faith which I was preaching to others; to go down and examine, face to face, the nature of that hidden foundation, along which, while fording the mingled waters of life, my own belief, at least, had ever felt its footing secure. I had not been inattentive nor indifferent to the various aspects which this great question has assumed in modern theological literature. It seemed to me that in a multitude of minds there exists, with regard to the fact and truth of a Divine revelation, a strong though indistinct belief, resembling those invisible pictures which the sunlight impresses upon the sensitive preparation of the photographer. And as various chemists have each contributed a new process or agent to develop and fix the mystic image on the view, why might not some suggestion of mine assist the efforts of abler advocates of revelation to bring out into lasting day the sacred portraiture of faith enstamped on the soul? Therefore, with an earnest

prayer in my heart for aid, aware of the many peculiar difficulties that environ the subject, and knowing how much I risk from the double imputation of presumption and failure, I have come to the spot whence sprang the most cherished impulses of my being, with this humble contribution, — it may be, this serious sacrifice, — to be surrendered, in the language of Dudley's own will, providing for his foundation in Harvard College, "as a poor thank-offering to God from his unworthy servant, for his many and great mercies to me in my education at that college."

I propose confining myself to a single line of argument, defending merely the fact of a positive, special, supernatural revelation, in accordance with the all but universal belief of the religious portion of mankind. At the same time, I desire distinctly to premise, that I shall fearlessly accept, throughout, the challenge of the rationalistic and other opponents of that belief, conforming myself to their favorite method of scientific investigation, — meeting, as well as I can, the current theories of our day, and seeking directly, among the elements and history and consciousness of human nature itself, and the visible works of God, for the confirmation of my positions.

By the term Revelation, as used throughout this essay, I wish particularly to be considered as implying only a system of special impulses from God for the moral and spiritual development of man. Into any controverted topics, as to the entire contents and character of Revelation, I shall not enter. Their natural place would come after the establishment of the general fact. My design will be accomplished, if I can make it appear that certain lights and tendencies have been communicated to the world, which cannot be resolved into any established order of nature.

Two preliminary objections, however, against the idea of any special revelation at all, the one of a popular, and the other of a philosophical description, require here to be considered and averted. The first arises from a consideration of the effects which have actually been produced, and it takes this form: — If the Deity have really revealed himself to mankind, why has so large a portion of the race never yet become acquainted with the event? — why, of the numbers whose attention it has succeeded in attracting, have so many entertained widely variant opinions respecting it? — and why should even academical lectureships be deemed necessary to

demonstrate and recommend it to the world? In reply to these inquiries, let it be observed, that, although Revelation be an extraordinary gift of God, although its effects be specific and unparalleled, and although its original introduction, as I trust will be shown, was attended by supernatural direction, yet its modes of operation and its channels of influence need not, in many respects, be different from those of his ordinary gifts. Suppose, for instance, the general power of *healing*, which is perhaps more analogous to the avowed object of a revelation than any other, had been Divinely communicated to mankind thousands of years ago; nevertheless, the art itself might still have remained, as we now find it, over immense spaces of the earth, in the lowest condition;—where it had made the greatest progress, it might have given rise, as now, to innumerable theories and sects, and the conquests it had effected might still have been but slowly progressive, and oftentimes far distant from each other. In like manner, if the art of legislation, whose offices also are strictly analogous to many offices of a revelation, had been Divinely communicated, it might still, as now, have remained in its infancy, and the blessings of human law, especially its aid in the education of nations, might have been as limited and precarious as ever. Now, on the supposition that Divine legislation or Divine interposition has been actually introduced for the education and benefit of mankind, why should not the progressive effects of that also be partial and precarious? What right have we to expect that they should be immediately universal? Gold, certainly, may be added to the brass and silver coin already in use, and exert the happiest effects on commerce, without disturbing in the least the established laws of circulation. The execution of the designs of the Deity is generally gradual, deliberate, and liable to various interruptions. Such are his processes in the formation of the material worlds, — such is the economy of all vegetable and animal life, — such the course of Divine Providence in the destinies of our race, — and such the progress of every great truth and influence, when dropped from any quarter among the experiences of mankind. The doctrines of Natural Religion itself are liable to the same conditions, both in the speculative and the practical impressions which they make upon men's minds. Why, then, should we not accept the idea of a Divine revelation on the same conditions? Indeed, no others seem consistent with the flexible and imperfect

nature, the sublunary circumstances, of man. Unless it be the appropriate office of a revelation to destroy our free will and free action altogether (a theory that I frankly repudiate in the outset), we cannot necessarily predicate of it an immediate or universal reception. — Thus the preliminary popular objection in question vanishes before this statement of the case. At all events, it shall not and ought not to deter us from looking at the positive side of the question, and instead of asking, why has Revelation done no more, inquiring whether it has not actually done infinitely more than any other existing moral cause, and whether certain effects that *have* been produced can be traced to any besides special, supernatural influences.

As for the more philosophical objection against a revelation, so long and variously agitated, which is founded on the alleged impossibility of a violation of the order of Nature, I consider it placed in abeyance, at least in the existing state of science, by the geological discoveries of the present day. Those discoveries have demonstrated that the order of Nature is not so uniform, as to preclude distinct and successive interpositions of creative power, whenever the earth was prepared for new species and genera of animals. This argument of the school of Hume, as to the unchanging uniformity of Nature, would indeed have been countenanced by facts, had the theory of the very able author of the “*Vestiges of Creation*,” respecting the self-development of the whole animal world out of a single original germ, received support from the general testimony of Nature. But no one can rise from the inspection of those reports which the most eminent geologists have published regarding fossil remains in successive layers of the earth, without an irresistible conviction, that new, specific, and original impulses of designing and creating power have from time to time interposed to change the pre-existing order of things, and substitute another in its place.

The idea, I am aware, has been advanced, that there exists in the material, inorganic elements connected with our globe itself, when subjected to certain changes and new conditions, an inherent power of producing tribes of organized and animated beings. But such a supposition rests on no established analogy or fact within the present experience or memory of the human race, and must be dismissed as altogether gratuitous and unphilosophical. The whole tendency of philosophical observation and discovery at the present day is

against the doctrine of spontaneous generation. Hume, himself, assuredly, could not have appealed to the testimony of experience to show that a single animal or plant was ever produced by a new combination of the elements. The only exception to the contrary on record has been the supposed production, in our own day, of certain winged insects by the action of electricity on flint ; but the experiment seems neither to have been fortified by repetition (an essential rule of inductive evidence), nor to have been conducted under circumstances implying the absolute necessity of admitting a novel formation. I conclude, therefore, on this point, that the alleged uniformity of Nature disappears before facts and analogies placed by Nature itself under our very eyes. It will fall, however, in our way, in the sequel, to combat this celebrated objection on entirely different grounds. I proceed to the examination more immediately commanding our attention.

The student, then, of the religious history of our race, in glancing from the present to the past, cannot but observe that that history is divided into three grand and deeply marked eras or periods, as different in their characteristics from each other as are the mineral, vegetable, and animal worlds. The characters of each preceding era may, indeed, be found involved in the one that succeeds, and to constitute, as it were, a basis on which a new and higher structure has been superimposed, somewhat as inorganic matter is the basis of an entirely dissimilar vegetable life, and as the properties of vegetable life coincide with the lower properties only of animal life. There may, moreover, be perceived in each preceding era dawnings and symptoms of the succeeding, like those embryonic anticipations and archetypes by which it has been discovered that one species of the animal world has heralded another in the order of creation. The three religious eras, which thus distinctly strike the mind, are those of Idolatry, Pure Theism, and Christianity. Seizing the most prominent feature of each, I would characterize the first as the era of a dark, blind sense of Divine power ; the second, as the era of light ; the third, as the era of love. In the first, I see the great body of mankind paying to finite causes, visible or invisible, — to the idol, the vegetable, the brute animal, the celestial luminary, the hero, the fairy, the genius, the god and goddess, and other objects of the same general class, — a religious homage or recognition, accompanied in the main by a low, loose, precarious, indefinite system of

morals. The spirit of this era is now, and has for a long time been, exhibiting unequivocal manifestations of decline and ultimate extinction; a fact, by the way, which may go far to obviate the objection before noticed, respecting the alleged inefficiency of Revelation. In the second period, I behold introduced into a single race, to which the Hebrew nation belonged, a principle directly antagonistic to the entire idolatrous principle; the idea of one spiritual Creator, claiming and receiving for himself alone the devotion which had hitherto been lavished on a vast multitude of inferior objects. I behold, in the writings of the Old Testament, a national literature founded on this dominant principle, and a record of institutions established to perpetuate it. I discern, too, the accompanying prevalence of a higher and stricter, though far from perfect, morality, and mainly enforced by positive external sanctions. In the third period, I behold the Deity proclaimed to mankind, and understood by still increasing multitudes, as cherishing a tender interest in every individual. I see inculcated and practised a more spiritual worship; men brought into closer and more enlightened relations with the invisible and eternal world; and a perfect morality, founded on motives of internal personal holiness and on the sentiment of a brotherhood with universal man. How intrinsically different are these three periods from each other! They hardly seem predicable of the same race of beings. I may not now dwell on and illustrate their respective characteristics, nor demonstrate their direct and indirect influences, their mutual action and reaction, nor account for apparent exceptions to the broad and general statement which has been made. But from the commanding point thus attained through general history and experience, I must launch at once into the proposed stream of argument.

The leading characteristics of the second and third of the eras just described I consider, for several reasons, as having originated from some kind of special, Divine interposition, entirely extraneous to the ordinary workings and principles of human nature.

The first reason that impresses this conclusion on my mind is, that the religious phenomena of both those eras have been evolved through one of the smallest, obscurest, least cultivated, and in many respects least advantageously situated nations on the face of the earth; in both cases, against the will and genius and leanings of the nation itself,

since all that a nation could do to perpetuate idolatry against the pure theism of the Mosaic institutions, and, subsequently, to resist and extinguish Christianity, was done by the Jewish people. Nevertheless, both classes of the phenomena in question, Mosaic and Christian, struggled up from the inmost bosom of the resisting nation itself, and overspread with their influences large portions of the world, in modes very different from the operation of ordinary natural causes. Now, even if but one of these two classes of events had been evolved through the medium of such a nation, I should have considered the fact more than suggestive of a special Divine interposition; but when I see them both proceeding from the same nation in the modes that actually occurred, at far distant periods, and especially when nothing in modern Egyptian discovery accounts for these impressions on the Hebrew mind, the conclusion comes home to me with all the weight of a moral demonstration.

I am aware of a theory which attempts to set aside the force of this conclusion. The author of a "Discourse on Matters pertaining to Religion," whose eminent learning and abilities no difference in opinion, and no regret for what may be hasty and ill-considered in his compositions, can prevent me from cordially honoring, undertakes to account for the peculiar phenomena exhibited through the Hebrew nation, by ascribing to the Semitish tribes a preëminently creative religious genius and superior religious tendencies.* But if this be correct, why did these tribes perpetually relapse into fetishism and polytheism, as this writer himself maintains in another part of his argument?† Such was the case with the Israelites until after the Babylonish captivity, and with the Arabs down to the time of Mohammed, who found his countrymen idolaters. Moreover, have the Semitish tribes continued to verify, to the present day, the glorious preëminence thus assigned them? Have they caught, embodied, developed, and perpetuated, the higher devotional qualities involved in the Christian religion, or have they not almost universally repudiated them, and was it not the non-Semitish races who immediately assumed this enviable function, and snatched from their rivals the crown of religious supremacy, with which they have been mistakenly endowed? We certainly can never again look to the Semitish tribes for new

* *Discourse*, etc., p. 34.† *Ibid.* p. 93.

religious lights and impulses. Whatever Mr. D'Israeli may imaginatively say in his romances, those portions of mankind have lingered hopelessly behind their competitors in the spiritual race. But all this could not be, if the Semitish nations, *sui generis*, were born with higher capacities and tendencies for religious conceptions and attainments than any others. Seeing them in their present inferior religious condition, I am but riveted in the conclusion that they were only employed as the *medium* of religious blessings by some power extraneous to nature. If I could grant that they were inherently more religious than any others, I should even then gain a valid argument for a supernatural revelation. For I see an influence, asserted to be inherent in them, at length forsaking them almost entirely, and transferred to races which it is conceded are naturally far less religious than the Semitish. In both these opposite sorts of cases, I see the alleged natural bent borne down, overcome, interchanged; what but a supernatural interposition can solve the problem?

In the second place, this conclusion is very much corroborated, when, on further examining the original and authentic literary documents of the Jewish nation, I find these documents themselves ascribing the phenomena in question to special Divine interpositions. The knowledge which they convey to us of the existence, character, agency, and will of the Deity, they do not profess to derive from human sources, but they frequently and expressly assert it to proceed from such as are supernatural. I acknowledge that their testimony alone is insufficient to establish the fact; but the coincidence between their unvarying assertion and my previous unavoidable conclusion from solid historical verities, supported by the vast body of evidence in favor of their authenticity and truth, fastens the conviction with new strength on my mind.

I turn now to a third and very different class of facts, but which still compel me, on entirely independent grounds, to the conclusion, that these great spiritual lights and moral influences, which have proceeded through the Jewish nation, were derived from a special, preternatural source. Dismissing the idea of the constitutional religious superiority of the Semitish tribes as a gratuitous assumption, I search through the history and existing condition of mankind; and I ask, When and where besides have similar phenomena been exhibited? If there be a tendency in human nature to develop a pure theism and the glory and loveliness of the highest Chris-

tian ethics, why has it not been seen in the many new experiments, so to speak, to which the race has been subjected along the lapse of six thousand years? Nation after nation has sprung into existence, — continent after continent has been inhabited, — the innumerable islands and islets of the three great oceans have been peopled with human beings, — hundreds, if not thousands, of the most favorable opportunities have been presented to conduct the experiments on broad grand scales and on limited sheltered ones, and yet, as far as I can see, mankind, when left to their native impulses, have stood or have been receding at a hopeless distance from the abstract, perfect standard of religion and morals which exists in the Christian's Bible. Where on this earth has a nation or a race ever worked itself free from idolatry, and ascended into a spiritual worship and obedience towards the Deity, except through some influence which can be distinctly traced to a Jewish or a Christian origin? The largest and most striking process of this kind was the more than imperial establishment of Mohammedanism; and no more certainly does the crescent moon borrow her radiance from the sun, than did Mohammed receive his mental light from Palestine. Would a man among us venture to predict that the South Sea Islanders, if left to themselves, would ever develop the germs of the Christian system, and carry it to any practical height? The very idea appears inadmissible. I cheerfully grant, that, in the writings of some of the heathen Greeks and Romans, there are wonderful approximations to Christian truths and principles. But why, when they found utterance and manifestation, did they fall dead-born upon the surrounding world of contemporary hearts? Are not the very instances adduced, therefore, but a new demonstration of our main position? These two most enlightened of nations, — these most resplendent gems of human history, — how far did they ever spontaneously embody, reproduce, vivify, and extend the principles which a few of their great intellects lighted upon? How came both of those races, with two widely different sorts of high civilization, and in their genius and character radically different from each other, — how came they to continue wedded to their dark and odious superstitions, until they both, when met by Christianity, at length rushed simultaneously into one common stream of Hebrew culture?

This fact, at least, is another reply to the objection about the inefficiency of the Hebrew revelation. The son of So-

phroniscus, indeed, like one born out of due time, dies a willing martyr to the truth ; but not a heathen altar falls in consequence, and the vast company of idolaters grovel on. The germs of Natural Religion, if indeed they were not generated from an early revelation, beautiful and symmetrical as they were, perished as they fell upon the richest and ripest mould ; the germs of the two great Jewish eras, instinct with unconquerable life and vigor, penetrated even the crust of rock, and forced for themselves a broad and permanent footing, though they are too far, alas ! as yet from having covered the entire surface with verdure and fruitage. There was evidently wanting for the former that creative, supernatural impulse which originally brought and accompanied into the world the patriarchal doctrine of the unity of God, and the specific spirit of Christian love. You, who are most familiar with the truly admirable writings of the classics, tell me, do you remember, from Homer to Marcellinus, any thing resembling the description of a Christian conversion to righteousness ? An instance or two may be culled here and there, as we cull some rare curiosity ; but how far removed are even they from the conversion of a threat-breathing Saul of Tarsus, or the transformation of imbruted John Newtons in modern times ! Nor do the ethical, dramatic, historical, or philosophical writings of the ancients impress upon our minds any general image resembling that peculiar generous spirit of self-sacrificing love which shone forth from the earliest Christians, and which down to our own day prompts so many to labor and suffer disinterestedly for the remote and unknown, as well as for those who are near at hand. The names of Martyr and Missionary belong exclusively to Christianity. Out of its depths alone arose the elevated and peculiar qualities which constitute the brightest phase of those two characters, — not the self-destruction or self-torment of the mad fanatic, — not the childish ambition of the mere proselyter, — but the calm resolution to endure every extremity of suffering for the truth, and that glowing love for the souls of men which causes its possessor to find in the wildest, remotest solitude something dearer than the joys of home, or than the warm lights of social life. If the heroes of early antiquity toiled and endured mightily, it was for the benefit of themselves or their clans. The Prometheus Enchained of Æschylus suffers sublimely, I know, for man ; but his vindictive, impatient, defying, almost godless spirit, contrasts unfavora-

bly even with the Prometheus Unbound of the infidel Shelley, who owed so much to the light which he disowned. The much blazoned sentiment of Terence, which he puts into the mouth of one of his personages, about taking an interest in every thing human, bears no original application to any thing like Christian benevolence, nor is it employed to illustrate such a sentiment, but is simply uttered to apologize for the curiosity which one person feels in the daily occupations of another. Can we conceive of Plutarch finding anywhere in ancient life a subject like Howard? Could the whole course of heathen history and experience evolve any such picture of humble life as the "Cotter's Saturday Night"? In short, form to yourselves an abstract conception of what obviously constitutes the essence of the Christian character, — that union of a fervent piety with sanctified affections and a breathing charity, — that solemn sense of the invisible and eternal world, — that tenderness of conscience, — that blended humility and self-respect, — that sweet patience and cheerfulness in sufferings, — that forgiveness extended to insult or injury, — that lofty self-denial, — and all connected with a willing, scrupulous, active prosecution of every personal and social duty, — and then say if you could extract out of the whole range of heathen literature, delightful and perfect as it may be in its separate type and sphere, the ingredients of a character which should match your expressed ideal of Christianity.

Strength is still added to this line of argument, by observing, that all efforts and expectations, in Christian countries, to arrive at moral and spiritual results superior to plain, original Christianity, have proved abortive. Who now cherishes any hope for mankind from advancing civilization and refinement, if unblended with and unsanctified by Christianity? What else are the most benignant tendencies and developments of the age, — the improvement and extension of education, — the active interest cherished in the poor and helpless, — the securing of political rights for the humblest individuals, — but mere coincidences with the elements of that religion? No scientific treatise on Moral Philosophy, however popular for a time it may have been rendered by circumstances, is universally acknowledged as a standard authority. The nearer any such treatise approaches to simple, inflexible Christianity, the more generally unquestioned are its decisions. One of the strongest proofs of the divinity of

Christianity is, that the very writers who deny it that attribute, in attempting to elicit from the principles of human nature a perfect system of religion and morals, are obliged at last to refer their new discoveries to that religion as a standard, than which they can find or conceive of nothing nearer perfection. Those many aspiring schemes, likewise, which aim to reconstruct religion and society upon some new basis, appear to owe whatever is really valuable and practically available in them to primitive Christianity. The ambitious waters, in their restless dashings, never rise a hair's breadth above the level of their distant source. The whole body of Romish traditions contributed to form no character equal, certainly none superior, to those of plain, Bible-reading Protestantism. The best features of chivalry are but identical with the true spirit of the Gospel. The gorgeous imagination and elaborate spiritual apparatus of Swedenborg, so attractive to many amiable persons of a particular cast of mind, involve, in their mystic convolutions, no shred of principle better than what the New Testament had already prepared for the humblest understandings. The efforts to regenerate society on the modern plans of association aim at nothing higher than to diffuse the spirit and blessings of Christian equity by new external forms and relative arrangements of life. Nay, even when some mind is stimulated by Mesmeric agency, and with the assistance of the boldest philosophies of the day, amidst a wilderness of extravagant errors and assumptions, promises to construct a new order of life and religion on the ruins of former ones, — like other attempts with a similar object, its highest-wrought imaginings can propose nothing more attractive, nothing more likely to bless the world, than the simple life of Jesus and the teachings of his Gospel. Thus we see that all these strainings, contortions, and novel moods of the human mind, whether grave or fantastic, delusive or benign, involve no higher results than those proposed and actually instituted by the Saviour and his apostles. As Dr. Arnold has declared of our race, that no more history can be written, because there are no new ethnographic features of it to be described, so we may say, that, Christianity being equal to the utmost moral capabilities and needs of mankind, no purer or loftier developments are to be expected, at least until another organic moral epoch is vouchsafed and introduced by the hand of God.

To conclude this whole separate argument with the direct-

est possible appeal to every one's consciousness and experience ; — we all remember what we were in earliest childhood, and what we probably should have been without the more or less direct influences of a Christian education ; we all know the capacities and dispositions of our very youthful contemporaries in regard to religion. Suppose, then, that a numerous colony of children, let them be Jewish or Christian, Oriental or Occidental, descendants of Shem, Ham, or Japheth, consisting of both sexes, and having as yet received no religious or moral instructions or impressions whatever, should be left by themselves in some country yet uninhabited, but where the climate, the productions, and other circumstances, should insure their continued existence and their advance into manhood. Here certainly would be human nature under conditions no less, if not more, favorable than any which philosophy assigns to the early and barbarous portions of mankind. These children would at least possess hereditary, constitutional advantages superior to what those portions could ever have enjoyed. Now, granting a vague religious capacity and sentiment to exist within them, can we conceive that any thing better than *fungi* would ever appear as the consequence, — some Peruvian worship of the sun, or some Scandinavian conception of a Valhalla ? Can we imagine it possible that either they or their descendants would ever develop a system of religion and morals approaching that which may be deduced from the Bible ? How soon would they evolve their legislator of the decalogue, — with his profound perception of the constituent relations of social life, — with his sublime and ultimate philosophical conception of the great I Am, — with his picture of creation, conforming in so many particulars to the order which should be verified by geological discoveries four thousand years later, — with his remarkable suggestion of the Deity *resting* from his works, a suggestion also subsequently confirmed by the observed and unquestionable cessation of new creative processes ? When would arise among them the like of that perfect Being, at the very thought of whom, before his name is pronounced, so many hearts here present thrill with unspeakable reverence and affection, and whose image is too deeply enstamped even on this imperfect, sinful world to be ever obliterated ? For my own part, I can conceive that such results would arise from such circumstances, only on the supposition of some superhuman impulses, different

from any thing belonging to our ordinary nature and experience, and I am therefore again shut up to the conclusion, that the higher religion of mankind, as I find it at this moment, sprang from certain direct Divine interpositions. Will it be said, that neither would the colony in question produce a Newton's Principia? I grant it. But if you could first communicate to them the power of Christianity, with its stimulating and elevating effects on the human mind, a Newton's Principia might then arise, as it did before under similar influences. Not so, however, the converse of the proposition; the intellectual ability to produce a Newton's Principia would by no means secure the evolution of the moral and spiritual phenomena connected with Christianity.

A fourth general consideration again conducts me to the same central point. The religious principles and influences, which we have seen thus introduced into the world, are not maintained in it with the facility and uniformity which we should have reason to expect, if they were the spontaneous fruits of human nature. They seem to require perpetual attention and indefatigable culture. The interest in them is constantly prone to languish, even when their supreme and vital importance is not denied. Accordingly, it is acknowledged (and this fact also explains the slow progress of revelation before noticed) that they do decay and disappear both from extensive regions and from multitudes of individual hearts. To preserve them in their fulness and vigor, an uninterrupted machinery of moral means is required, — teachings, persuasions, warnings, an improvement of the afflictions of life, sedulous self-culture, forms of worship, lofty example. Now the influences of these things do not "grow like the grass." On the contrary, they have manifestly the nature of *engraftings*. But that which *does* grow like the grass is a forgetfulness of the Being who commanded the Israelites to have no other gods than himself, and a departure from the standard of character and life inculcated by Christianity. Very soon would our Far West, for instance, very soon would many a neighbourhood at home, relapse into a species of heathenism, if these efforts at counteraction ceased to be made by those who are already imbued with the spirit of the Gospel. The mighty exertions demanded and employed to resist these retrograde propensities are just what we should antecedently expect would require to be made, if a restorative principle were about

to be supernaturally introduced among men. I conclude, therefore, that an influence which is so difficult to be maintained on earth, and which is, as it were, incessantly on the point of centrifugal departure, could never spontaneously or naturally have found its way into the soil, which, while it remains, it subdues and blesses.*

I have already referred to the separate creative processes in the ancient natural world, to refute the preliminary objection of the school of Hume against the interruption of the supposed order of nature. I now refer to the same processes as a fifth and last positive argument in proof of the fact of a special revelation. As the Deity had specially interposed to repair, arrange, and extend the material creation by the introduction of successive classes of organized bodies, there is a commanding presumption that he would also specially interpose to elevate, educate, and transform the moral agents on whom he has conferred a being. This presumption is heightened and even verified by the fact, that he has given more freedom to his moral than to his material creation; that he has not bound it down by such immediate, sequential, self-executed, stringent, and unalterable laws as he has the other; in short, that he has empowered his moral creation partially to frustrate the purposes and principles of its own constitution. Now, since all must confess that

* The author of the Discourse before referred to himself acknowledges the long, difficult, and often bloody struggles which religious truth has been obliged to incur in advancing from lower to higher stages of its progress,—say, from fetichism and polytheism to monotheism. He represents it as a destiny which human nature *must* pass through. *Must* is his imperative and significant word (p. 98). Now, if we allow any plan and purpose at all to the agency of the Deity,—if we do not resolve the whole history and fortunes of our race into a matter of vague chance, this same word *must* involves all which the advocate of a special revelation would demand. It implies a separate, exceptional tendency warring against and overcoming the general tendencies of human nature. Give to that exceptional tendency the character of intelligent design, instead of a blind, brute law, and allow it to commence at any assignable point of time, and you meet the advocates of revelation on common and satisfactory ground. The author of the Discourse, in fact, represents these arduous and bloody triumphs of truth as obtained “under the guidance of Divine Providence” (p. 95). Why, then, should he arraign the Jehovah of the Hebrews for sanctioning or commanding the extermination of idolatry by terrible severities? On what principle does that system, which is so revolting when enacted by the special command of the Deity, become healthy, necessary, and adorable, when conducted in a more general way by Divine Providence? Perhaps, to be consistent, the author must join company with M. Comte, and so banish from his inductions, banish from his universe, every trace of moral and spiritual design.

this liberty has been often and sadly employed, it is evident that there was both room and need for special revelations and influences. As the Deity had already acted in past epochs and conjunctures where his interposition was required, I conclude that he must also have acted in conjunctures where vastly higher interests were at stake. He had permitted the will of man to introduce virtual contingencies and frustrations of limited laws into definite points of time and space. How else, then, could he secure his eternal and unalterable wider laws, but by employing, when the occasions arrived, his own controlling will on definite points also of time and space ?

Here, then, I would rest, as on the culminating point of my argument. The position at which I have arrived appears to me to involve the true philosophy of a supernatural revelation, and to preclude all higher generalizations which may be advanced as objections against it. We find a race of created beings, gifted with spiritual natures, subjected, indeed, in part to material laws, and in part to laws of instinct and involuntary suggestion, both which kinds of laws, it is true, if left to themselves, invariably fulfil the purposes of their constitution. But their higher spiritual natures have no such unalterable tendencies. And the fundamental error of those who reject the idea of a special revelation is, I apprehend, the confounding of the laws of man's spiritual nature with the material laws of the universe, and imagining that the principles of both must be identical. The very liberty of going astray is what constitutes the superiority of spiritual to material natures, because it is connected also with the liberty of self-control, — of self-originated movement and improvement, — and of graspings at absolute perfection, — none of which can be ascribed to matter or instinct. To say that God has provided as uniform and universal a supply for the wants of the one as for those of the other is not to vindicate the prerogatives of our spiritual nature, but it is to degrade them to the lowest mechanical necessitarianism. There are, indeed, certain higher laws and limits, which even spiritual natures cannot transgress. But within those limits, they are absolute ; they are permitted, by a singular but unquestionable contradiction, essentially ascribable to such natures, to retard, violate, disturb, change, the proximate purposes of their being. And this they in fact do on a definite, limited theatre of the universe. Having

within them, as I delight to acknowledge, the elements of pure religion and moral perfection, they spontaneously refrain from their development, or subject the exercise of them to guilty abuse. Unless, therefore, at this point, absolute meets absolute, — unless something more than the ordinary influx of perpetual Divine inspiration is salient as occasion demands, — unless the Highest of spiritual beings can be supposed occasionally to intervene on that very definite theatre, to control and aid by new influences the wills which he has created free, and so secure the execution of his wider purposes, — he is himself a manacled slave of necessity, — he is no more the being who called the amphibious reptile from the earth at the very moment when the waters were subsiding from its surface, and who created long afterwards, at a definite point of time, the solid-footed quadruped and man, when a dry, upheaved continent permitted them to roam through its verdant plains. To say that there can or need be no new special inspiration, superadded to the ordinary general inspiration already imparted to every man, is tantamount to saying, that, when the earth is ready for new creations, the glory and purposes of the Deity may be sufficiently secured by the old crawling, mucilaginous natures already in existence. Who will venture to affirm, that, throughout the future ages of eternity and the possible realms of space, the Creator will never commence a new process, — never start a new train of being, — never originate some new and specific impulse? But if he may do this, it is hard to say why the Tellurian planet, the land of Palestine, and the date of Augustus or Tiberius Cæsar's reign, must be precluded from his benignant interposition.

Thus the idea of a supernatural revelation appears to harmonize with the most expanded views we can take of existence. So far from being traceable to any low, limited, or superstitious tendency in the human mind, it may fairly retort on the antagonist theory the charge of a purblind, contracted survey of the walks of being. Rising, indeed, to a certain factitious height, we may be induced to reject and spurn this precious idea; but ascending to a point still loftier and more commanding, our comprehensive, serene, and enlightened vision finds for it an appropriate, a glorious place in the vast panorama of things. To reject it is to tie the Creator's hand with a cord of invincible destiny; to admit it is to recognize in him a boundless and absolute freedom to interfere with and regulate the free.

Nor, without a death-struggle, could I be disposed to part with a belief in this great reality, notwithstanding the attempt to assure me that there are equivalent resources in the unaided moral and religious elements of my nature. Say what you please of the grand deductions of reason concerning the existence and attributes of the Deity and his relations to the human soul, — and you *can* say much, very much, to kindle an adoring admiration, — yet, without some belief in his occasional, special, personal interposition, he will virtually remain at an awful, infinite distance from man. From eternity to eternity he will seem to maintain a gloomy, inviolable silence. His inexorable law sweeps by, and buries and annihilates us beneath its absorbing generality. To say that God speaks to us from nature is but metaphor and poetry. In vain will you point to the beauties and glories of the universe, and its marks of evident design. Unless self-deceived, you cannot say that you are satisfied with them. Man, from his inmost being, craves some specialty, some perceptible demonstration of God's interest in him. Without it, he is still alone, alone! He calls aloud in anguish on the mute heavens, on the unconscious flowers, on the sullen ocean, to speak but one word, to breathe but one whisper, to exhibit one faint smile or token, in order to assure him that the God whom he adores and admires is also the loving Father whom he may love. And when this deep want of his being, which is as much entitled and as likely as any other want to be answered by the good Creator, is supplied, — when the voice of the Past, enshrined among the noblest inheritances and most authentic monuments of our race, proclaims to his mind the inestimable fact, — then that Hand, which before, in dim vision, he saw coldly wielding the unalterable forces of nature, seems to draw near, and to press, with a paternal, gentle tenderness, on his very head. Before, religion was but a mass of bewildering, impalpable abstractions; now, it is a concrete, — a thing, — a subject of time and space, like man, its living throne. The lights that gleam out from the concave sphere of existence around him are now brought down to a burning focus on his heart. Creation appears in new and brighter aspects, happier attitudes, more visible smiles; — a spark has lighted up the heavens. Prayer now finds a spot to kneel upon, and an opening in the motionless curtain around, through which, in well-founded hope, it can

direct its eye. How could it find them before? Give me all the uncertainties, difficulties, and perplexities of the Bible, with its celestial truths shining through on my searching reason and faith, rather than leave me alone with universalities and generalizations, presenting a wall before my eyes, as wide as the world, and as high as the firmament. The idea, that the soul of man is naturally sufficient for its own religious necessities, is contradicted by the facts of universal consciousness. Question the most profoundly religious natures both of the past and the present; they will tell you, that just in proportion to the prevalence of that sentiment within them do they look out of themselves, and expect and long for some assurance from a higher source than what is denominated nature.

Revelation, I allow, cannot suppress, dispense with, or supersede the great original principles and sentiments of moral and religious obligation, but it can awaken, stimulate, and sanctify them; it can arouse and fix a new attention to them, a new interest in them, a new consciousness of them, — can give them new strength, right directions, surround them with more impressive sanctions; it can concentrate their scattered suggestions and influences, and it can make that to be flower and fruit which before was only slumbering seed.

With regard to the Bible as the medium of this Divine revelation, I cannot here begin a discussion respecting its contents, structure, authenticity, and inspiration. To intimate my general views on these topics, I would only observe, that the miraculous events recorded in the Scriptures are but harmonious appendages to the very idea of a special revelation; and further, that as the original communication of Divine influences was not such as to overwhelm the individuality and freedom of those to whom they were made, the germs of Revelation have accordingly descended to us, blended with the limited philosophy and imperfect ethics of an infantile and barbarous state of the world. And, happily, there are points of view in which these things can be instructively considered, without warranting or calling for the complacent commentaries of buffoonery and derision. The very imperfections, critical, ethical, and philosophical, which we may be led to ascribe to the Bible, also oblige us to inquire how it came to pass that the highest truths of absolute religion and of perfect morals are found imbedded in a

matrix of less ethereal substance. The true answer can but fall back upon and corroborate the positions maintained in the present lecture.

A comprehensive, generous, discriminating philosophy, sympathizing with the infirmities and capacities of human nature, following the various phases of its history and destiny, and recognizing the omnipotence and sovereignty of an unfettered Deity, will find no difficulty in accepting the Bible as the medium of a special revelation. While searching in it earnestly for the pearl of great price, it will regard as valuable even the protecting casket, without which the jewel itself could not, from the very nature and condition of the race, have floated down the tide of circumstance. Nor will it be deterred by the difficulty of separating what is addressed to the general spiritual necessities of our nature from that which is local, temporary, and obsolete. It is, indeed, a peculiar glory and excellence of Scriptural Revelation, that it addresses the judgment and reason of man, — that it thus helps to educate as well as to inspire him, — that it exercises his powers of discrimination, and calls upon his moral and religious sense to recognize and obey those great eternal truths, principles, and commands which appertain to the perfection of his being. Therefore let us accept the Bible as a manual of faith and practice, in no narrow, restricted, slavish sense, but in that broad, comprehensive, reasonable light which itself hath kindled. True, there will be vast conflicts of opinion. True, there are as yet no prospects of a combined general freedom and unanimity. But at least a life is kept scintillating in our spiritual nature, which has been struck by the Bible alone. And if ever a *novum organum* of religious science shall be discovered, by which these warring contradictions can be reconciled, — if ever arches can be happily sprung from opposite pillars of belief to meet in common centres of acknowledged truth, it can still be effected only through that divine logic of charity, for which the Bible, out of its exhaustless resources, prophetically and amply provides.

Young men of this University ! I have endeavoured to elucidate and fortify by argument that belief in an external revelation, which the most, if not all of you, brought hither from your homes. If I have personally failed in my immediate design, yet remember that the numerous evidences of Christianity, as exhibited by more fortunate advocates, are

not in consequence at all impeached. As your minds expand, and as, with the triumph of conscious strength, you advance in your philosophical speculations from one generalization to another, you may be tempted to resolve the outward, special revelation vouchsafed by the Deity into the universal sentiments or capacities of religion implanted in the soul. But I have aimed to show you that there are wider generalizations still, spreading up into the spiritual world, and which, recognizing at once the freedom of God and the freedom of man, leave ample room and necessity for any immediate communications he chooses to make. That he has created you with religious capacities, so far from precluding the idea that he would visit your race with extraordinary acts of love and mercy, affords, on the contrary, the strongest presumption in its favor. It is your religious nature, — that nature which soars above all circumstance, transporting you beyond the fixed conditions of the material universe, and introducing you into the presence of the absolute Cause of all things, — it is this which entitles you to expect, and prompts you to welcome, and commands you to obey, the special manifestations of your Creator, at any point or moment along the range of being which his infinite wisdom may please to select. Indulge, then, by all means, in the loftiest, freest excursions of your native moral and spiritual powers, — listen with unabated attention to the spontaneous promptings of the inward monitor, — study, as long as you breathe, the benignant, glorious purposes of God in the wide world of nature, in the ascending, terraced walks of science, in the gladsome or pensive experiences of life, in the stern and patient prosecution of duty. But disdain not, at the same time, that external light and aid which are intended to animate your languid pursuit of excellence, and to chasten and restrain the ungovernable impulses of self. The inspired lessons of Scripture, falling on a soil of religious sensibility, have hitherto conducted the human character to the highest perfection yet attained on earth. The just thought, that the great substantive duties of life have been enjoined by a positive revelation, no less than by a native inward light, affords exactly that controlling force which, consistently with its inborn freedom, aids in retaining the soul in an unbroken moral orbit. Alike hopeless and dangerous is the attempt to remand men exclusively to the spontaneous dictates of their unassisted nature. It has failed thousands of

times over, and it will fail again and again. And the reason is simply this :—the selfsame human spirit which breathes these dictates of natural religion also whispers, with an absolute and inexorable tyranny, the suggestions that urge to disobedience and sin. Surely man needs, then, some arbiter, some counterpoise, some outward voice, which shall proclaim to his conscience, Thou *shalt* obey, — thou shalt *not* transgress ! The predominant tendency of the Scriptures, produced under the peculiar circumstances that have been dwelt upon in this lecture, whatever difficulties may attend their subordinate details, is in every way concurrent with such a voice. Both the child and the philosopher may comprehend and feel its import. Happy, my young brethren, will it be with us, if it shall fall ever on our ears with distinct, commanding, and heavenward-urging accents.

Before bidding farewell to these venerated shades, I must pause for one solemn and affecting moment. Twenty-nine years ago this genial month, the counsels of the paternal Kirkland directed my steps to the distant spot which summoned me to the tranquil and consecrated labors of a life. During that period, what dream-like changes have extended over our whole community ! With the new-born generations that occupy the places of their fathers in opposite quarters of our Confederacy, have also arisen entirely new and often recoiling phases of public opinion. Ancient endeared affinities and connections have been overwhelmed by the advancing tide. Complicated problems throw a thickening shadow over the destiny of our common country. Our swelling pride at the unequalled grandeur of her power and extent is chastened and rebuked by the remembrance of her indefinite, unsettled outline, her heterogeneous elements, her impulsive, experimental existence. A religious and conscientious patriotism, anxiously surveying the present and peering into the future, asks, What are its relations and what its duties towards those expanding myriads whom our teeming country and overburdened, agitated Europe are pouring along our yet unlimited territories ? What is to be the fate of civilization, of Christianity, of the cause of human happiness, in this mysterious land ? We have each a personal concern in the decision of these great questions, and, as we part under the weight of such trying responsibilities, it is but fitting that we should engage for each other the pledge of Christian sympathy and prayer.

ART. VI. — PETER SCHLEMIHL IN AMERICA.*

THIS is a thick book, but light enough with all its occasional pretension, for a moment at a time, to solid and solemn thought. It is a long joke, varied with theological profundities, — only the theology is generally as jocose as any other ingredient of the very miscellaneous medley. It is magazine-writing, having been commenced in fact for the *Knickerbocker*. Though diverted from its original destination after the appearance of a few chapters, the flighty, flip-pant, sparkling magazine style is continued to the end of its many pages, with very few exceptions, whatever the subject ; and that is varied through almost the whole diapason of man's interests, whether relating to the body or the soul. "From grave to gay, from lively to severe," still it is all joke for Peter. And the jokes are often capital. As a theological "Joe Miller," especially, the writer may stand alone ; for few would dare compete with him in his flights at such high game ; and he seems to feel his need of the authority of Pascal and some of the Church Fathers to shield him by their example. In the motto on the title-page, from Pascal's Provincial Letters, he italicizes the assertion concerning the Fathers with which it concludes, that "*they alone constitute the true models of the present times.*" This is a fling, we suppose, at the Puseyites, against whom the most racy witticisms of the book are directed. The author is unwearied in brandishing the keen, glittering shafts of his satire at Apostolic succession, and the resuscitated mediæval fooleries in the Episcopal Church, which some of its children venerate as its bridal clothing of fine gold, and some deprecate as "the novelties that disturb our peace." He is disposed to reverse the relative positions held by the Prayer-book and Bible in the estimation of the Prayer-book Society of "Babylon the Less." He disapproves, when he finds from the preaching of "the Rev. Verdant Green," that, with that gentleman's party, "the symbol on the seal of the Prayer-book Society was literally true, that the *Prayer-book* not only rested on the *face of the Scriptures*, but *hid a good portion of them from view* ; so that in the Doctor's preaching, as on the seal, the Prayer-book was uppermost." There

* *Peter Schlemihl in America.* Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 1848. 8vo. pp. 494.

is a great deal in this tone ; light, sportive, graceful raillery, expressed with terse and delicate ease. The delicacy does not always extend beyond the style to the thought ; and this probably may add to the piquancy of the work with readers for amusement. To amusement much is sacrificed by the author. He is capable, as he shows in a few sober paragraphs, of vigorous thought, lofty eloquence, and deep pathos, but soon tires of earnestness and flies off to run his rigs at Puseyism, Swedenborgianism, Transcendentalism, Fourierism, fashion, the learned professions, and what not. All the sects seem to come in for a share of his ridicule, and yet he makes high pretensions once in a while to religion. We are sometimes almost tempted to attribute his orthodoxy for the time being to his want of a *πῶν στῶ* for hurling up the Unitarians into the air, and seeing them thrown into ridiculous positions. He does it with considerable dexterity, but there is an unfair sleight of hand about the manœuvre, which may pass for actual superiority of strength, if not exposed. So many readers can be laughed out of truth and into error, that this felicitous *jeu d'esprit* may strengthen more prejudices against us than a shelf full of grave divinity equally strong, and unattractive to the mass.

When Peter shows up the Puseyites, etc., which we witness with a high degree of gratification, he does it by means of their own recognized writers. His margin bristles with citations from their acknowledged standards. This is fair game, fairly pursued. But when Unitarianism has its turn for being twirled round and made to caper ridiculously, — and this we frankly confess did not afford us quite so unmingled an enjoyment, — he seems to the uninitiated to follow the same course, but only seems. His margin is strewn again with authorities, as if all good standard Unitarians. He gives no warning of the game he is playing, and the joke-loving reader of his theological exhibitions rises with a laugh of glee at his wit, and of scoffing at these disguised infidels, as, by their own showing, no better than they should be. Who are these witnesses and authorities for his representations of Unitarianism ? The very first given in the book (p. 88) is Robert Hall ! Not a word of explanation. The untheological novel-reader might suppose that Robert Hall was a patriarch of the sect. And what does this high authority in the matter testify as to our creed ? That we “ strip religion of all its mysteries, submit it to an exhausting process,

by which it is reduced to its lowest terms ; that we affirm the writers of the New Testament were neither inspired nor infallible guides in divine matters, — that Jesus Christ did not die for our sins, and is not impeccable, — that there is not any provision made in the sanctification of the spirit for the aid of spiritual maladies, — that there is no intercessor, — that Christ is not present with his saints, nor his saints, when they quit the body, present with the Lord, — that man is not composed of a material and an immaterial principle, but consists of merely organized matter, which is totally dissolved at death"! This is a description of American Unitarians, yea, of members of the *Moriah* church in New York. Robert Hall is quoted as applying it to them !

After Robert Hall, we cannot be surprised to have Tom Moore produced as a fair representer of our doctrines. His "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion" are satisfactory testimony that many things in the writings of the Apostles are sad stumbling-blocks in our exegesis, and that we have finally resolved to vote them stupid and superstitious, and come to the conclusion that their gross misconceptions of the promises of Jesus as to a future kingdom involved him in difficulties from which he saw no other way of extricating himself honorably but by death. We might quote this Irish theologian as strongly against Peter's religion as he does against ours. If he would follow him throughout his "Travels," he would find himself led to the successor of his namesake at Rome, and then he might have been spared all his learned sarcasms against Popery and the Fathers.

From this theological Anacreon the transition is not very forced to the "Gentleman in Black" as a Doctor of Divinity. The Devil may be called the hero of the story, and figures largely as a sound Orthodox divine. He is quite shocked at our impiety, and gives the whole weight of his authority in favor of justification by faith in the Saviour's divinity and atonement.

Of course, after this, we cannot be surprised, that, when the author gets to the German Neologists and Rationalists as the representatives of our faith, he should seem to feel himself on very strong ground. Eichhorn, Wieland, Strauss, etc., are unexceptionable New York and Boston Unitarians. As their constituents, we are made to hold, some of us, that Jesus was induced to personate the Messiah, from the notion entertained by his admirers that he was that promised person-

age ; and some, that he was a noble magician, who on his own part never conceived of being the founder of a religion, and whose institute only assumed the form of religion by time ! Sometimes we go still farther, and “ believe that both Moses and Jesus were political deceivers, and the death of the latter was an event unexpected by himself, and which his disciples could meet only by feigning an account of his resurrection.” There is such a mixture of falsehood with truth in the Bible, and “ it is so hard to sift the wheat from the chaff, that the rewards are not worth the labor.” “ A life beyond the grave is the last enemy which speculative criticism has to oppose, and, if possible, to vanquish.” Our proper Bible is the “ Vestiges of Creation ” ; and man is brother to a baboon, according to our ambitious aspirings, and the world and all worlds created themselves by fate or necessity out of infinite atoms, that have a passion for every change into which they enter.

Now we venture to say, the author never heard such doctrines preached in what are commonly called Unitarian churches, in either “ Babylon the Less ” or “ Bostonia.” His whole eleventh chapter is as fine a specimen of Evangelical gossip as might have been heard ten years ago in any of the Calvinistic reunions of the two cities. About that time, our readers will remember, came up the question of Transcendentalism in the churches. It was not confined to Unitarians, nor did it commence with them. It concerned a system of metaphysics rather than of religion, and all speculative minds took an interest in it. But it so happened, that in this country the most distinguished favorers of this system were Unitarians ; and as some of them became deists, according to their opponents, though they generally disclaimed the title, Transcendentalism became somehow associated with Unitarianism on the one side, and with infidelity on the other ; and therefore Unitarianism was connected with infidelity in the minds of the indiscriminating. Our Orthodox friends were too often found willing to join in the cry, identifying what had no necessary connection. They readily forgot that Transcendentalism had been closely connected with what they themselves called the revival of piety in Europe, and was the philosophy of Neander, Tholuck, and of all whom they claim as Orthodox in Germany. They overlooked the fact, that by rescuing religious truth from the possible uncertainty which may attend the testimony of the

senses, and resting it on demonstration and experience, Transcendentalism had made the religion of even the most Orthodox believers more spiritual and earnest. All this they were willing to blink, because they found that Unitarians were getting the reputation of being Transcendental, and Transcendentalism was from fortuitous circumstances becoming a bad name, and they knew the old proverb, Give a dog a bad name, and you may spare yourself the trouble of killing him. Accordingly they sat down, whenever they met together, and indulged in just such long confabulations as Mrs. John Smith and the "Gentleman in Black," etc., revel in, in the eleventh chapter of this gossiping novel, at the expense of us poor Unitarians. The reader will find the whole story told there of the disturbance made in our ranks, ten years ago, by the controversy between Messrs. Emerson, Norton, and Ripley. It had passed away and been almost forgotten, together with the joyous inferences and predictions of our Orthodox brethren as to its annihilating results upon us, surely impending, but never yet accomplished; and here is the whole history vamped up anew, as if it had just occurred, with additions and improvements, and a brilliant running commentary. We are made responsible for all the extravagances of the "Orphic" school in speculation and in style; and, as this writer's forte is in *extravaganza* and buffoonery, it may well be supposed that his caricature of the Orphic extreme left of Transcendentalism outheroes Herod. Let it be read as we read Dickens and Lever, for its broad burlesque and frolicking humor, or as we read the "Comic Shakspeare," the "Comic History of England," and other such ingenious experiments in the spirit of "Punch," to see how the elements of fun may be detected in the deepest tragedies; but not as any approximation to a truthful picture. Probably no one will take such a theological jest-book for profitable Sunday reading, though it claims true piety as the exclusive characteristic of the author and a few friends belonging to none of the great denominations, and frequently repeats, with edifying unction, "Nothing but Christ, nothing but Christ," sometimes with rather unharmonious and equivocal associations. But many who read it, without extending their divinity studies beyond it, may need to be informed that the great mass of Unitarians would not recognize themselves in its pictures, and do not live like Mrs. Tripp, nor die like Helen Percy, and probably do not know what Transcenden-

talism means. Life is not all worldliness and lying with them, nor death hopeless gloom. They are yet, for the most part, quiet, practical, old-fashioned Christians, like Mrs. Margaret Elgin, who is presented in the book as a rare phenomenon, because "she was possessed of a bias for the old ways of Unitarianism." Like this sensible lady, many of us still remain unconvinced that "all infants are prophets, and our babies are so many Messiahs." We can sympathize with her when she mournfully remarks, — "As prophets, I must say, they are sometimes sadly at loggerheads with each other, and but for my presence would pull each other's heads off their shoulders." We doubt, with her, whether "there are better Pauls and better Jesuses now than any we read of, although," she says, "I have had some of these errants of the pulpit pointed out as examples of these important announcements ; but for my part, I believe I shall hold on to the old-school theology, flog my boys, and run the risk of offending some new-born divinity. I prefer Solomon to Ralph."

This worthy lady is rather sneered at as "a fair specimen of the *orthodoxy* of Unitarianism, being fearful to go forward to follow out the legitimate consequences of their own received opinions." This is usually considered the tight place with Unitarians. They ought to come out infidels, having advanced some steps from some former position. Having moved at all, they are bound in conscience to move on till they come to the jumping-off place in nothingness ; and their opponents are very angry when they decline acceding to so reasonable a proposal. They refuse to be beaten when they ought to consider themselves so, according to the long established principles of the art of war, as the old Austrian general complained of Napoleon, and prefer to violate all the rules of strategy, and conquer with provoking perverseness. But why do not our Orthodox friends consider that they are in the same predicament ? They, too, have advanced some steps from a former position. They no more stand where they did, or where their fathers did, than "Peter Schlemihl in America" stands where Chamisso's Peter Schlemihl in Europe did. Just what they say to us, the Catholics say to them : — "You are on your way ; you cannot stop : consistency requires you to go on to universal doubt, despair, and the Gentleman in Black. Do not unkindly disappoint our modest expectations." Yet Peter here seems to feel as

strong, and erects his horn as confidently against both of the Universal Holy Catholic and solely Apostolic Churches, the Roman and the Anglican, as he does against those who go one step beyond himself and add to his rejection of the Hierarchy — yes, and of Calvinism — a rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity. We have gone on in precisely the same line which Peter followed, and exercised the same principles of interpretation with the Scriptures. He has rejected so much which others hold, because he believed the Bible, as an Oriental book, abounds in figures of speech. We think we find there one or two more figures than he enumerates. Why should he be sure he is infallible in stopping short in his count, contrary to all analogy, and we heretical, because we are consistent and apply our principles of interpretation wherever analogy warrants it? He must go back to the literal sense and the plenary inspiration of Scripture, before he can reasonably object to our translation of its metaphors and reconciliation of its verbal contradictions.

As to our respective manufacture of infidels, we will come to the comparison with our Orthodox friends fearlessly, both as to the quantity and quality of the products. Unitarian Christians have become deists with and without passing through Transcendentalism, and sometimes passing through Orthodoxy, being urged into the belief that that system was taught in the Bible, and after a while, in consequence, renouncing the Bible. And Trinitarian Christians have become deists with and without passing through Unitarianism or Transcendentalism. When they stop at the "half-way-house," the half-way-house should not bear the reproach of having stimulated to the journey, but should be allowed the credit of having arrested it. But often the repelling force that drives them from their first creed is so strong, that they are shot off beyond the influence of the half-way-house, and no form of Christianity can stop them on their way to the dreary void. Like aerolites, according to the theory of their lunar origin, sent off with a force that overcomes all the attraction of the moon, they rush away out of the whole sphere of their early existence, and regard it all with horror and disgust. Now which class of infidels is the most numerous in the world, that of a Unitarian or that of an Orthodox origin? Is it not notoriously the latter? That best known to history never professed Unitarian Christianity. And, in the natural constitution of the two systems, which is more

likely to be repulsive to human reason and our instinctive affections? Are we not told perpetually, that the gospel of Calvin is offensive to the pride of the human heart, but Unitarianism a sweet poison fascinating to man's depraved soul? Why should he run from what fascinates him? Why should he not run from what offends? This fear, that a change from fanatical to liberal views will make unbelievers, is like the fear that a change from slavery to freedom will make murderers. Slaves love their masters, we are told, and are satisfied and happy under them as long as they are treated with injustice; but to set them free would occasion the massacre of their liberators. And so Calvinists have reasons founded in their deepest nature to abhor their faith, and therefore they are likely to cling to it; but change it to one pleasing to every heart by nature, and they will not long rest content with it!

But there is another question to be asked. As Orthodoxy and Unitarianism both turn out deists occasionally, which workshop produces the best article? Where are the purest, at least the most harmless, infidels graduated? Our infidels, we are told, are the Transcendentalists. This is only the converse of the proposition, that our Transcendentalists are infidels. Well, if they are, can you show a better set? Bring out your most boasted productions in that line, who are not Transcendentalists and sneer at the name, and see which are the nobler and which the baser sort. It is as little praise to say, an infidel who is no Transcendentalist, as to say, an officer who is no soldier. Now these Transcendentalists, you tell us, were Unitarians. If so, we claim the credit of what is good in them above the moral characteristics of the deserters from your ranks. Of these last, we think sometimes we have observed a difference in favor of those who rested awhile in our half-way-house. We purified and braced them somewhat, even by a short stay with us, to encounter with some advantage the perils and mournful gloom, as it seems to us, that must surround those who walk through earth's wilderness without the Son of God for a guide. After they leave us, they generally still reverence this teacher, and dwell upon his moral lessons. Are yours so apt to do this? In fact, most of our Transcendentalists, infidel as you call them, still claim to be Christians in their way, and what they consider the true and best way. It is not our way, but it is not for us or for any to say that it is an

impious way, because we do not know really what it is. That bridge has not yet been built, for which they assured us long since no competent architects exist, by which an idea might pass over from a Transcendental to an untranscendental mind. We must continue in the dark, and only hope the best. At any rate, we know that some Transcendentalists of the cloudiest cast seem to be more profoundly devout than before they entered so far into the mist. What is poison to one is food to another. May it not be so sometimes, in God's good Providence, for the soul as well as the body ?

In the notes to the work before us, — for it is a novel of fun, with grave notes by way of ballast, — it is acknowledged, that, while some New England Unitarians under the inspiration of Transcendentalism go off into wild extremes, like Mr. Emerson, and the greater part look on with amazement and know not what to think of it, it gives some the opportunity to make their religion more spiritual, and that this use is made of it by the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. So there can be some good thing in Nazareth. As to the general issue of the Transcendental dispensation, we have a cheerful trust that the good, rather than the bad, effects have been produced which were predicted ten years since in an Orthodox periodical, as quoted by Peter in his notes. Remarking on the disposition in the prophets of this dispensation to deal largely in the sentiments of Edwards and other undoubtedly Orthodox divines of the loftiest piety, who maintain that unlearned Christians may have personal experience of religious truth, though ignorant of the historical proof of the authenticity of the Scriptures, the discerning writer adds, — “Hence it became evident that these Transcendentalists would change the character of Unitarianism ; that they would infuse heart and soul and life into it ; but where they would go — whether upward to Evangelical piety, or off into poetry, sentimentalism, and perhaps fanaticism — is doubtful. Probably some will go in all these directions ; but we fear the best road will contain the smallest company.” If the writer's wish was not father to his “fear,” it will be a gratification to him to learn that most of these equivocal innovators, after sowing the wild oats of their youthful and most extravagant vagaries, have settled down to genuine “Evangelical piety.”

Peter quotes with high approbation from Unitarian writers sometimes, but then he carefully conceals the name. Buckminster furnishes some of his most eloquent sentences ; but

his margin under them is, contrary to his wont, guiltless of any reference. Channing he cannot help admiring, but argues that his last days evinced a tendency to more decided unbelief. Other Orthodox scandal-mongers have published a directly opposite inference. There was as much foundation for the one report as for the other. He died neither infidel nor Trinitarian.

Peter can abuse and laugh at the Orthodox, too, with a hearty good-will, at times. With good-nature, of course. And this is the charm of his book, and of all the best satirists of the age. Satire is no longer bitter and ill-natured. "Punch" and all his school are genial and philanthropic; and Peter runs his muck through all sects, societies, professions, and enterprises, and never loses his hilarity in bad temper, but laughs loudest when he strikes hardest. A most cheering omen; for the asperity of the *odium theologicum* has been a proverb from the beginning of the world, and we have been told that there is no such snarling, cross-grained, unamiable creature on earth as your genuine, thorough-going philanthropist. We hope the book will be read with the good temper with which it was written; but some passages will be a trial to our High Church friends. When they feel particularly good-humored, and in want of a little amusement, that at the same time may suggest a profitable hint or two, we would recommend to them the story of Mrs. Van Dam's proposed re-marriage to her husband by a validly ordained clergyman of "the Church," in chapter fifth; the conference of the ladies in Trinity Church, New York, concerning its carved and painted symbols, and the solution of the celebrated enigma of the eagle-lecturn therein, in chapter ninth; Judge Tomkins's letters to the Bishop of Peach Orchard, in chapter tenth, wherein he urges the necessity of saving the Vestal Virgin of the Anglican Church from the embrace of the "man of sin," and undertakes to prove dissent to be the "man of sin," and insists on the importance of reviving the ancient discipline of flagellation. In chapter eleventh they may be edified by Mrs. Smith's speculations on the virtues of Confirmation and the descent of the Apostolical powers, and her very ingenious hypothesis as to the reasons for the tonsure, showing that without it the faith of "the Church" must be essentially unsettled.

Mrs. Tripp's advice to her daughter, marrying into the Episcopal Church, will have force for at least the better half

of those who already enjoy or propose adopting a liturgy in public worship.

“And now as to your religion, Adela ; you are to have no religious *opinions*, but show yourself possessed of religious sentiments. They are not necessarily connected. Go to the Episcopal Church but *once* and in the *morning* of every Sabbath, and take Doyle with you. Let the first gift you receive from your husband be a prayer-book, splendidly bound as you please, with a gold cross on the cover. It has a very pretty, pious air, and is, besides, a beautiful ornament to a Sunday-dress. The velvet of the cover gives a sweet relief to the hands in which it is held, and, besides, admits of their being seen, without display, to the best advantage.” — pp. 404, 405.

M. I. M.

ART. VII. — OUR POSITION, PROSPECTS, AND DUTIES AS A RELIGIOUS BODY.

[An Address, delivered before the American Unitarian Association, May 30, 1848. By REV. ORVILLE DEWEY, D. D.]

MY BRETHREN AND FRIENDS, —

WE are met to consult together, to take counsel with one another, upon the interests of that department of the Christian Church in which we stand. We are here to consider and discuss matters, — matters of doctrine, sentiment, practice, or Christian enterprise, — that belong to us as holding a certain and distinct position in the religious world. I say this special department, this distinct position ; not for the purpose of drawing any unnecessarily broad line of division between us and other Christians. In spirit we are no more distinct from the Christian body than Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Methodists are ; perhaps not so much ; certainly our toleration, our willingness to recognize all sincere claims to the Christian name, goes farther than that of many of our brethren. Still, we hold to distinct ground. Whether we choose to call ourselves a sect or not, whether we are a denomination or not, we do undoubtedly occupy a marked position in the Christian world. We have clear and definite views of our own, that separate us from most other Christian bodies. If we were to say that we are not a denomination, that would only make us so much more a denomination ; for

it would mark and distinguish us more than any thing else. In short, our existence is a fact ; and facts must have names. Bodies of men do not give themselves names, any more than the tribes of animals did, that passed before Adam. Others affix labels upon the things that they would know ; things do not label themselves. And sometimes men write the name, as apothecaries do "poison," upon what is dangerous. A name is flung at dissent, is meant to be a clog about its steps ; and so it is, perhaps, for a while ; but by and by it creeps up and up, till it answers as a useful girdle or garment,—and higher still, till it becomes a crown of honor.

I am speaking thus definitely, my brethren, because I propose to say some things about this same liberal, or catholic, or Unitarian body of Christians, to which we belong. It is to me not a very agreeable subject, — *ourselves*. We have had too much of it of late, I must think. It appears to me, that, of late years, we have arrived, as a denomination, at an extraordinary degree of self-consciousness ; and it does not seem to me the most healthful condition. Time was, when we did our work as well as we could, when we fought our battle as we were obliged to do ; when we busied ourselves, not with thinking of ourselves, but with what we had to do. We had come honestly to entertain certain views of Christianity ; we found them earnestly assailed ; we thought it our duty to defend them. We took our origin in that protest ; we were Protestants of the Protestants. We *did* believe, too, that religion was grievously abused and wronged by certain errors which had attached themselves to it ; that its entrance into the human heart was hindered by those misapprehensions ; that its general power and prevalence were hindered, and its grandeur and beauty obscured, by those mistakes ; and we set ourselves, as the great labor of our lives, to expose them, and to give what we thought a juster exposition of Christianity. We wrote books and tracts, pamphlets and sermons, and we published them. And the result is a body of religious writings, which, I believe, has produced, is producing, and will produce, some effect in the world. I speak, brethren, of the times of Kirkland, and Channing, and the Wares, and Whitman, and Greenwood ; and of others, who with them rest from their labors.

Well, their conflict is over ; the combatants sleep in honored dust ; for ever hallowed be their memories ! And now,

— what are we doing now ? Why, we are very busy with the question whether we are doing any thing ; whether we are not going backward ; whether we have in any degree fulfilled our mission as a denomination, or have any business to *be* at all. A remarkable spirit of self-criticism has sprung up among us. Some are questioning whether we have arrived at any just results in our philanthropy and piety, as a denomination ; others, whether we are consistent with our professions as religious believers ; and others still, whether we have any coherence, — whether we are not likely soon to fall all to pieces. And it is said that the religious bodies around us, seeing all this, are speculating about their share in the wreck, when it can no longer hold together, or the chance that some one of them may have it all. It is certain that no religious denomination before was ever so fearless and reckless about what their adversaries might think of them. We have no policy, — that is certain. I do not say that I regret it. We must take what comes. If there is singular liberty among us, if there is a good deal of intelligence as well as freedom to think, if our denomination is nearly resolved into a collection of thinking individualities, amenable neither to consistory nor church, to prelate nor pastor, it will not be strange if many wild and reckless things are said among ourselves about Unitarianism, either as strong and triumphant, or as weak or failing ; or if others should say, without any conscious want of modesty, “ Cease it assuredly will.”

But I do question, however, whether this state of self-criticism is a good condition for ourselves. The moment the *entire body* of any denomination distrusts its mission, that moment it ceases to have any mission. A pervading self-criticism has always marked the decadence of literature and art, and I believe it will equally signalize the decadence of religion. And if we *are* cold and inactive and inefficient as a Christian body, I believe it may be owing to this cause as much as to any other. At the same time, I do not deny that a just self-criticism has its uses. A reasonable self-inspection, self-questioning, self-distrust, is good. At any rate, it exists, to some remarkable degree ; and though it does not pervade our ranks, it prevails among us to an unusual extent, and it is a reason why I shall venture to offer some remarks upon our position, prospects, and duties as a religious body.

This, then, I hold to be our position. In common with all other Christians, we believe, — pardon this brief statement of what you well know, for it is important to my purpose, — in common, I say, with all Christians, we believe in God, in Christ, in the Bible, and in the doctrines and duties which we understand the Bible to teach. In distinction from the creeds of most Christian bodies, we believe that God exists as one self-conscious being, and not as three self-conscious beings, agents, or persons; we believe that Christ is, in a peculiar sense, the Son of God, but not God himself; we believe that Christ suffered and died for us to bring us nigh to God, but not to remove some legal and otherwise insuperable obstacle to the Divine forgiveness; we believe in the soul's regeneration, but not in its passive or instantaneous regeneration; we believe in retribution, but not in the literal eternity of the punishment threatened in Scripture. This is our position. Is it not definite and clear enough? Is there any thing doubtful, any thing equivocal about it? Have our adversaries been fighting, during a thirty years' war, against shapeless shadows, against no opinions, against nothing? Plainly enough, they have not thought so.

And now, brethren, I ask, Is there any wavering among us upon these points? Are there any signs among us of disbanding and breaking up? If there be, I cannot see them. We may have faults enough; but I do not see indecision and disunion to be among them. We have doubtless much to learn and far to advance, and upon this I shall venture to insist; but I see no need of a firmer or more fixed attachment to our faith. It may be a small enough virtue, but I do not believe there has ever been, since the Apostles' time, a community of churches more thoroughly grounded in their convictions than we are. And then as to union among ourselves, while no body of believers on earth is freer, I think there is no body on earth more united. We are united, not under any earthly head claiming authority over us. We are united, not by consistory or articles, not by bonds of paper or parchment, but by sentiment and affection. This Association is not our bond, but only the symbol of it. Our position is that of *a school of opinion and sentiment*, rather than that of an organized force. Our bond, may I reverently say, is to Christ, and to the love of God in Christ. And the bond is strong; we feel it to be strong. Why, the bond is such that we have no fear of its breaking, and can say that

we are no sect, unless it be "the great Anti-sectarian Sect"; and some of us can say that we are not a denomination; and nobody is troubled by it. Still, we feel that we belong to one another, and we are "persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth," nor any thing else, "shall be able to separate us."

We stand united, then. But it may be suggested that our stand is of that very questionable sort which is called a "stand still." It is alleged, I believe, that our numbers do not increase, that our churches do not multiply; that our faith is not spreading. I confess that I am not accustomed to keep any special account of these matters. I might not have thought of the statistics of our faith, if the question had not been raised about them. And I am really indebted to the question for the fuller recognition, in my own mind, of some very extraordinary facts which it has brought me to consider. Four years ago we had but one theological school. Now we have a second, — that at Meadville, — larger than the first. And the first, if it has been subject to some fluctuations of late years and sometimes to a slight decrease of members, has not differed in this respect from many of the old theological schools in the country. The fact is, — and it is a fact worthy of more attention than it has received, — that the young men of the country are less disposed to enter the clerical profession than they were formerly. But to return, and to extend the inquiry to the actual prevalence of our faith in this country, — ten or fifteen years ago, ours was the only Christian body in America that was known as holding to the simple unity of God against the Trinitarian hypothesis. Now there are three such bodies; the Universalist in the main, the Christian, and our own. Forty years ago, there were not three churches in America that were consciously and avowedly Unitarian; now there are nearly three thousand. Then there were not probably a thousand persons in all the United States that were conscious of holding our opinions; now there are nearly a million. There are, that is to say, including with the Churches before named a large body of the Society of Friends, nearly or quite a million. And beyond this, it is well known that our influence has gone far and wide, over broad regions of opinion, and has modified more or less the whole theology of the country. If this is called standing still, I should like to hear a defini-

tion of progress. We talk about slow progress, and even about decline, and we suffer others to talk in this way almost uncontradicted, for we are not careful for *statistics*; but I doubt whether the world can show such a rapid progress of unaided religious opinion as this.

“Ah! but,” it is said, “there are sad and alarming defections in this very body, and especially in its oldest churches, from their earlier faith.” The charge has been made, and has been received in certain quarters with ominous shakings of the head, that we are not true and sincere in our acceptance of Christianity and the Christian records; that our actual belief does not agree with our professed belief; that while we profess to rest on the Bible as our creed and our foundation, we do *not* rest on it; that one fragment of it is giving way under the blow of one critic, and another fragment is yielding to the prying inquisition of another, and that the whole basis is fast sinking beneath us; in fact, that it is virtually gone already, one admitted mistake vitiating the whole record. Is this true, my brethren? I say dispassionately, Is this true? Because it *may* be, undoubtedly, that men, and honest men, may swerve considerably from their faith almost without knowing it; that they may adopt new views, and still keep the old phraseology. All changes of opinion, I suppose, have witnessed that fact. Why, the very deniers of Christ’s miracles and superhuman authority still profess to believe in Christ and to receive his mission and his inspiration, in some sense. Is it, then, for them, and, I say more generally, is it for any body, to reject *our* claim to be honest believers in the Bible? Are we to be charged with concealment, evasion, or inconsistency?

What is the ground which we occupy on this subject? We believe, the body of us, in the supernatural mission of Moses and of the Christ. We believe that God spake by Moses, and that in these latter days he hath spoken by his Son from heaven, in a sense essentially different from that in which he spake through the wisdom of Socrates or Cicero. We believe that miracles were wrought to sustain both the Hebrew and Christian dispensations. And we receive the Scriptures as the record of our religion, as the expression of our faith, as having authority above all human creeds. We say the Bible is our creed, rather than the Augsburg Confession or the Westminster Catechism; and we freely submit the articles of our faith to that standard.

Whatever individuals connected with us may do, this is our ground as a Christian body. All this is undoubtedly true. But we do not say, and never did say, that every word in the Bible is the unerring word of God. We do not say, and never did say, that every passage or every book in the Scriptures is put beyond all question. We believe that the Scriptures are a human testimony to certain Divine communications and interpositions, — a testimony true in the main, and so to be received, but liable to some mistake in the details, and to be subjected to a careful criticism. Does this qualification vitiate and annul our claim to receive the Bible as our creed, our religion, and our law? Luther contemptuously called the Epistle of James “an epistle of straw.” Le Clerc indignantly rejected the idea, that the imprecations of David against his enemies were Divinely inspired. Erasmus says, that “Christ suffered his disciples to err, even after the Holy Ghost was sent down, but not to the endangering of the faith.” Has their faith in the Bible ever been discredited thereby? The learned Michaelis, and after him Bishop Marsh, his translator, distinguish between the Divine sense of the Scriptures and the human communication of it; and Paley and Butler, between the doctrines of the sacred writers and their arguments and illustrations, — maintaining that the former were to be received, and that the latter might be questioned. Have Marsh and Paley and Butler lost their place in the Church as Christian believers, believers in the Bible, orthodox believers? It would be easy to extend the list very far of learned men who have made similar distinctions, and whose faith in the Bible has never been impeached nor questioned. I say, then, that, in common with the body of Christians, we stand upon the Bible basis; and that we stand upon it in clearer singleness of heart and faith than many of them do. It is *not* true that our actual belief differs from our professed belief. We profess to be Bible Christians, rather than Calvinistic Christians or Arminian Christians or Swedenborgian Christians, and we are so. It is remarkable that we have not, and never had, any recognized human leader. We derive our faith from Christ, rather than from any of his ministers, however distinguished. We believe in the Bible. We believe that it is the record of interpositions above all human power, of a wisdom above all human wisdom, of a special redeeming work of God’s mercy for his earthly creatures.

My friends, it is a great and solemn faith ; and it is a serious question for us to consider, What are we *doing* in accordance with such a faith ? What, as a Christian body, are we doing ? Far, far too little. Every Christian's life should be as a flame upon the altar of sacrifice. Into the depths of humiliation, doubtless, may every one of us justly sink, in contemplation of his defects and failures. This kind of self-criticism I would not gainsay or question. But let us not do ourselves injustice, and especially as a Christian denomination. The individual self-reproach may be right, and yet the relative self-reproach may be wrong. It is bad and wrong to say that we are doing nothing, if we are doing something ; that we have achieved nothing, if we have achieved something ; that spiritual life is dying out of us, if it is not dying out. And in my inmost soul I believe and feel that it is not dying out. I verily believe that our denomination was never more alive and energetic and efficient than it is at this moment. There is not, for instance, any one form of public benevolent effort that can be named, in which we are not taking more interest now than we ever did before. I do not say that we are doing enough ; far from it. We entered this field, laboring under many prejudices ; we thought it was full of mistakes, especially in the missionary department, and we think so still, — full, too, of sectarianism, full of enforced charities ; but we have nevertheless entered it, and are doing more than we have done at any former period. Then, in our congregations, we are increasing our means and enlarging our plans by Sunday schools and Bible-classes, by liturgical aids and social gatherings, for the common edification and improvement. And now shall I surprise you, my clerical or my lay brethren around me, if I say, that the greatest instrument of all, the greatest means at once and sign of spiritual life, the *preaching*, is better in our denomination generally than it ever was before ? There is more life in our pulpit, — I speak generally, of course, and I believe I might generalize the remark so as to embrace most other denominations, — there is more life in the pulpit now than there ever was before. We are *not* growing dead, and our clergy are not becoming dead, to the highest interests, I had almost said the sole interests, of humanity. Nor is the age sinking into this awful stupor. It is *not*, in my belief, an age of dearth and death. There is a chord in the universal heart that thrills to the sanctity of the Gospel. That affecting

story of the silver image of Christ in the palace of the Tuileries is significant ; as a quaint writer of our time would say, it is significant *of much*. A lawless crowd, the lowest populace of Paris, is rioting in the seats of luxurious monarchy, in the guarded sanctuary of a monarch's home. Without leader or head, wild with excitement, half distracted with curiosity and wonder and success, they rush from apartment to apartment, to gaze, but not, — after the first momentary impulse, — not to despoil. At length the silver image is presented. What do they do ? What do they say ? They pause ; they say, " Reverence this, — this is the Master ! " With uncovered heads, they bear it to a neighbouring church, amidst the reverent attention of all the street multitudes, in that stormy hour of disorder and misrule. What was the motto of the Revolution forty years ago ? " Crush the wretch ! " Now they say, " This is the Master, — reverence him ! "

But to return, and to consider again the life that is in our denomination and in our preaching. Doubtless, there is too little of it ; but is it decreasing and dying out ? Are there signs of decadence and death among us ? This is the question. And that there is any such fact or any such sign, this I do resolutely deny. This complaint of a dead church and of a dead preaching — which is not confined to us, I may observe, but is spread far and wide — is to me a sign of wakening energies, of an increased religious culture in the public mind, of a greater demand for earnestness and life. I see, I know, that there is increasing life in the administration of religion ; and therefore my conclusion is, not that the pulpit is dwindling, but that the public mind is enlarging, — is perhaps outgrowing the pulpit. If this be true, let the inference come home to us of the clergy with what power it ought ; but let it not be an inference to deaden or discourage us : the very contrary.

And with regard to the question, whether or not we are doing any thing, I could wish it were a little better considered what the true doing is. We seem to refer it all to signal enterprises. A congregation, a minister, is doing something, only when going out of the beaten path. That is the special tendency of thought at the present day ; but I question it, and more than question it. First, I say, the true doing of a man is more within his own breast than without him, — there the good work must begin ; next, it is more in his

private and daily life than in his occasional and public life, more in his ordinary state and condition than in any extraordinary action. Look at the preacher's work. I say, that what falls into the routine of his ordinary and daily tasks is more than any thing he can do out of it. Is he who makes daily visits of Christian kindness and counsel, who daily visits the sick and afflicted, and who writes one or two sermons in a week, and on Sunday preaches them, — is he doing nothing? What *is* doing, then? What is it, if tasking hand and heart and brain to daily exhaustion is not doing? This writing and preaching of sermons, — if you hear of a man who does only that, you may think he is doing little or nothing, compared with him who visits sick and poor people; but I deny it; I say, there is no more vital doing in the world, to a true man, than the meditation and preaching of sermons. What ministry of relief to the needy, or of freedom to the slave, or of peace to the war-worn nations, hath a sincerer aim to the general welfare, or a more earnest devotion, than this? My friends, I do not like to say these things; but I do think it desirable that we and our congregations should understand, that there is some *doing* in this world, that does not walk beneath the flaunting banners of public enterprise; that there is earnest and sincere doing in the silent paths of Christian and ministerial duty; yes, and that there are thousands of hearts to testify that it is a doing of God's work of help and mercy in the world.

But enough of this. More we have to do, — more, far more. I have spoken unwillingly of what we have done and are doing, because I think that undue self-criticism, heavy complaint and discouragement, are apt to drag upon the wheels of progress. From doing to more doing, from strength to strength, from victory to victory, — that is the true progress. More is to be done, — so much more, that it leaves what has been done to be, in my thought, but as the infancy, the childhood, at most, of the ministry, the Church, and the world. I look for a time, and I sometimes think it is not far distant, when there shall be an earnestness in the pulpit, an internal activity in the churches, and a going forth beyond them into world-wide paths of Christian philanthropy and reform, such as the world has never seen before among us or any people.

Let me say something, now, of this progress and improvement. Let me say some things that most impress my own mind; though in doing so I may not satisfy the largest thought

of all who hear me, or the yet larger demands of the subject itself. What other thoughts and better require to be uttered, you will express in the meetings of this Anniversary Week. This is *my* opportunity, and I will use it as I am able, — modestly, but not timidly. I will say freely what I think, and you will think as freely of what I say.

Let me go, first and at once, to the root of all improvement, — to what, indeed, in its full growth, is the end, but to what, in its living germ, is the beginning, — and that is, to a vital sense of the *reality* of that which we are here considering. Inductions must have data. We cannot proceed without a first step. We would advance ; but we must advance from something. We would build ; but we must build upon some basis. Down, deep among the roots and foundations of our being, are certain principles, — religion, virtue, duty ; bonds of the infinite authority upon us, teachings and laws of God, teachings and laws of conscience. We say that these are realities ; but at any rate, there is no half-way about them. They are realities, or they are not. If they are not, then let all churches and ministries, all private and domestic offices of meditation and prayer, and all public religious enterprises, — the missions, the tract and Bible societies, the Sunday schools, the theological seminaries, — let them all go and begone out of a world with which they have nothing to do. But if those principles *are* realities, if truth and right, if the faith in God and in virtue, *are* realities, then — what shall I say ? what words can bear up the burden of the inference ? — then out of those realities must spring and grow all our welfare, and all the world's welfare, — every highest truth and all holiest sanctity, all nobleness, and all blessedness.

Brethren, we come here to meditate upon and to care for the deepest and most real thing in the world. To our private and instant well-being, to the universal and eternal welfare of men, nothing is so vital. This Anniversary Week is not a mere gala time, — a time of goodly ceremonies and services, a season of spiritual dissipation, of mere curiosity to hear what is said and see what is done ; it is a gathering around the central point of all human welfare. Religion, the Right, — divinest truth and life *in us*, — this is the grandest element in all human counsels and conventions. Conventions to nominate a president, Chartist demonstrations, monster meetings, movements in Italy or Germany, National Assembly in France, — all are nothing without this ; all must tend to this, — must tend,

that is to say, to establish justice, to promote the highest, the moral well-being of men, or they are nothing ; they have no dignity, no grandeur ; nay, they are worse than nothing. The great problem of every human life, that for which it was given, is to work out and to act out this solemn and sublime sense of what is divinely true and right ; in other words, to have the Christ formed in us as the hope of glory and the spring of all blessing and blessedness.

Could we start from this great conviction, all would go well, all would be comparatively easy. Could we drive out the spirit of egotism, self-consciousness, selfishness, from our churches and from our bosoms, not only would the Christian path grow bright and brighter before us, but all our Christian enterprises would thrive and prosper.

First, we should do that highest good that any body of Christians *can* do, — that which would outweigh a hundred times all the other good in their power to accomplish, — we should demonstrate, what so many doubt, the reality and blessedness of the right and holy life. This noble exemplification our religion wants more than any thing else, — more than it wants funds, establishments, seminaries, churches, preachers, and whatever else is sought for to promote it. The wealth of empires cast at our feet, and millions of adherents walking in our train, and a thousand missions carrying their banners through the world, could not put forth the regenerative power that would reside in one single body of men really bearing the image of Jesus Christ, breathing his spirit, and clothed with the might of his love and pity.

Next, our treasures would be filled. This, though not the highest concern for us, is yet a point of great importance. All our associations are more or less crippled in their power by the want of means. It is not because we are poor. It is not because we lack the opportunity to give. It is that we want the living sense of that *for* which we give. A famine of bread calls forth our sympathy, calls us to the rescue. Funds are gathered, noble ships go forth from our wharves, and generous men conduct them, to bear relief. We have no such sense of what is meant by a famine of the bread of life, by a famine in the soul ; but it is the deeper and more terrible want.

Again, all our associations and enterprises would work well under the right spirit. Presiding officers then can be found, and faithful committees, and laborious agents. Societies are

nothing, and funds are nothing, without a right management. Somebody must work. There is more to be done than to associate and subscribe and give. Somebody must do it. There *are* doers among us, and I am grateful that we can refer to them. But more such are wanted ; in some quarters, they are sadly wanted ; men that will come out, and act openly and earnestly for the great cause, even as men act for their party in the political concerns of a country. The good spirit, the spirit of God only, will give us true laborers, the laborers that we want.

Let me proceed to speak of some other forms in which, I think, progress and improvement are to appear.

The internal activity of our churches is one form. A church that is not merely a worshipping assembly, not merely preached to and listening and punctually attentive ; a church that is a beneficent institution, a kind of relief society to the ignorant, erring, and needy around it ; a church that, through benevolent action and sometimes friendly gatherings or religious conference, is a common ground for different classes, by which the friendship and culture of some may flow out to others who need them ; a church that is a school of religious learning and progress, a kind of Christian institute, having not only its Sunday school, but its Bible-classes and still higher modes of regular instruction, in ecclesiastical history, in the biography of the greatest and best men, in Christian evidences and records ; a church, in fine, that is a body of persons, and the only visible body on earth, bound together in a relation humbling to all, exalting to all, — bound to God, and to eternity, and to the hope of heaven, — such a church would I see, and would that all churches were such. And why should there not be *revivals* of attention and concern in these churches, seasons of special thoughtfulness and earnestness, as there are in all other schools ? In truth, they are not unnatural, not necessarily fanatical ; epochs belong to the healthful order and progress of our minds. What if the pastor of a church should, at the close of the year, speak to the people, and make proposal to them thus : — “ My brethren, another year of our brief and hasting life is coming to an end ; one season of our religious opportunities is drawing to a close, and another is about to commence. Let us devote this week to some special thoughtfulness ; let us have daily prayers in the church, and meet every evening for solemn meditation and inquiry ; let us take a deeper impression upon our hearts of

the one great, momentous concern of life and duty ; let us repent of past neglects, and begin the coming year anew ; let us obey the monitions of these solemn hours, and dedicate ourselves afresh to immortal aims and hopes ” ; — would not this be fit and well ?

Again, I entertain the opinion for myself, that some liturgical usages would be an improvement in our churches. Some persons pray better with the book ; it fixes attention. The congregation, too, has the benefit of other prayers than those of its pastor. It has those thoughts of God that have breathed in the souls of some of the most venerable and pious men of past ages. Prayer comes to the people as it were more impersonally, and is clothed with more dignity and authority, as a voice coming out of the deeps of venerable experience and of the olden time. I would never dispense with the preacher’s own original ministration, but I think that other influences might well mingle with it. And I think, too, that a book of prayers, in partial but common use among us, would be the most powerful conservative element that is left to us, to bind us together and to perpetuate our existence into future centuries.

Let me now say a word upon another point, in which I think that progress and improvement are needed ; and that is, domestic piety. How much we owe of all our religious difficulties, and of the very struggle with temptation, to defects of early training, to the want of family religion of the right kind, we cannot know ; but I believe that it is far more than we suspect. The great trial of virtue lies in this, — that we do not believe in it, do not believe, that is to say, that it is best and happiest, everywhere and every instant. Wealth, fame, pleasure, seem better. Why ? Because the family influence that presided over our early years nurtured in us that impression, that deep distrust of the instant and all-sufficing power of goodness to make us content and happy. I do not deny, indeed, that in our imperfect and sensitive *nature* there are perilous tendencies to evil ; but I believe that they might be counterbalanced to an extent little thought of, by the right family influence. Show me a shallow-brained youth, devoted to mere fashion and worldly *éclat*, and I will show you one who has been taught that lesson somewhere, *in* the family or *out* of it ; and if out of it, yet the lesson has probably had some countenance in the family. Show me one who is plunging into the vortex of ruinous pleasure, and

I will show you one whose natural passions, indeed, are leading him astray, but who might have been saved, if the gentle bonds of cheerful love and piety at home had been thrown around him. These are terrible things to say ; but they are true. Not without exceptions, indeed ; I know that. O, there are agonizing martyrdoms of mothers and sisters for many a lost one ! Let them continue to suffer and pray, for they may yet prevail.

I am enlarging upon this topic more than I intended. One word more, however, for it is to that that I wanted to come. *Religion* must be enthroned in a family. Some open, daily recognition there should be of the presence of God and of the infinite interest of our being. Now with many, here is a great difficulty. The head of a family feels that it would be so new and strange for him to pray in his family, and that he is incompetent, too ; and he fears, moreover, that the service would become a wearisome and useless form. Now I lately witnessed a domestic scene that suggested to me, I confess, a new idea on this subject, and I wish to present it to you. It seemed to me, that is to say, to relieve a great deal of this difficulty, about the awkwardness of *beginning* and the feeling of incompetency. In the morning, when the family were assembled, a Bible and prayer-book were placed upon the table, and one of them read first a chapter and then a prayer, with no more formality than a simple and reverent bowing of the head in those who sat around. Suppose that even less were done at the first. Suppose that the family should assemble in the morning simply to read the Scriptures together. It has been well said by some one, that the Psalms and portions of the Gospels are themselves most admirable liturgies. Psalmody and chants, too, might be introduced where there is gift and culture for them. When such a general usage was established, the reading of a prayer would easily follow ; and then, perhaps, prayer voluntary and original, and on bended knee, — the fittest of all postures. And I cannot help thinking, that, in family devotions generally, all these modes might well be introduced and interchanged to save the service from formality, and give it variety and interest. No one, perhaps, is disposed or able always to do the same thing ; and provided the daily and open recognition of the Great Presence is obtained, I should think that considerable liberty as to the manner is advisable.

I fear that I am occupying more time than I ought, but I *did* wish to say something also on preaching.

Next to thinking, the grandest office in the world is the communication, impression, direction of thought. To direct it in the young is the office of the educator ; to impress it on the complicated affairs of an empire is the statesman's office ; to communicate it to the great public is that of literature ; to the friend or the social circle, that of private letter or conversation ; to convey it in its sublimest form to the deepest heart of the people, — this is the preacher's office. It is an office that stands in the very structure of the world, and will stand for ever.

It is subject, however, to some fluctuations in the popular interest, and is passing through a rather remarkable trial now. Everywhere there is a demand for better, greater, stronger preaching. Never was the prophet-preacher more wanted or called for than now. And as if there were a shrinking before this great demand, everywhere — in Germany, in England, and France, as well as in America — there is a growing disposition to decline this office, a remarkable decrease of students in theology.

There are, indeed, many causes for this ; I cannot enter into them now ; the subject of itself would require a large discourse ; but the remedy, I conceive, both for the fewness and feebleness of the preachers, is to be found in a new and better culture of religion itself, — in a new and deeper sense of what this interest is, of its reality and grandeur, of its relations, wide-spreading, all-embracing, and striking to the depths of the world. Under this better culture, I believe that a preaching is to come forth, and preachers enough too, of a mould and might, of a freedom and spiritual manhood, to match the crisis of any age, and yet more, the everlasting demand of our great and solemn, and sorrowing and struggling humanity.

When shall it be ? When shall religion cast off the swaddling-bands of childish superstition and unreasoning, dull acquiescence and technical formality, and be free and manly and strong and heroical and majestic as it ought to be ? When, brethren, shall the preacher of God's word, dismissing every robe of cumbrous custom, and casting off with it every shackle of the spirit, stand up in the manliness and beauty of a noble Christian meditation, and with the compact argument of a Demosthenes and the sacred earnestness of a Chrysostom, with a sage's wisdom and a prophet's fire, with the simplicity of a true and humble disciple, and the homely

strength of a deep-feeling man, and the awful sobriety of the great Master of all teaching, — when shall he speak forth the things of religion as the sublime and precious verities that they are, — not aiming to make great discourses or splendid discourses, not satisfied with the cant of formal sermonizing, but giving simple, true, calm, deep utterances, and so breathing religion, as it were a brother's heart, into the heart of poor, afflicted humanity? For so must it ever be, this our humanity, — a broken reed, a bruised piece of flesh, a battered form of earth and dust, till that divine life and inspiration enter into it, and raise it up from sin and sorrow, from disease and death.

I should be wanting to my subject, or to this part of it, — that is, progress and improvement, — if I did not speak of another topic; but I will do so briefly; and this, surely, not because I am indifferent to the matter, for I have an incessant anxiety to know and do my duty in regard to it. I speak, as you will anticipate, of the reform movements of the day.

Certainly a Christian body would be strangely out of place that had no sympathy with these movements. They touch human welfare in some of its most vital points. They appeal to Christian feeling in the most unambiguous terms. He who is not struck with horror at the ravages of war and intemperance and licentiousness, — he who can think of his fellow-men, bought and sold like cattle in the stall, without a thrill of pain and indignation, — he who does not desire through all feasible means, through Bible and tract distributions and through missions, to spread the light and power of redemption through the world, can hardly be considered a Christian.

The only question is, What are we to do, and how are we to do it, and in what spirit? And with regard to all this, it seems to me that a very great diversity of opinion and action must be admitted into such a body as ours, without disturbing its harmony or in fact compromising its consistency. We are not an anti-slavery society, nor a temperance nor a peace society, nor a society for the abolition of capital punishment; but we are a society of Liberal Christians, with certain religious opinions and objects that mark us and bind us together. On all other subjects, there may be differences among us in perfect consistency with our bond. If I am disposed to a more conservative and kindlier treatment of social evils than my brother, he must bear with me, as I will

try to bear with his ultraism, and, as I may think it, his radicalism and violence. Nay, more, I will have leave to think modestly about my own opinion, to think that possibly he may be more right than I am, without being construed to be a very wicked or bad man for that. We have different habits of thought, different ways of looking at life, different theories of the philosophy of life and history. I am disposed to legitimate as much as I can in the actual state of things under a Divine Providence. Another is disposed to innovate and condemn and tear to pieces. "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth ; for God hath received him."

But one thing I do admit, that with a strong and resolute hand we are to help humanity in its great and fearful straits. I can bear with extravagance better than with apathy. I can bear with any ultraism better than the ultraism of indifference. Mistakes are excusable ; selfish coldness of heart to the great sorrows of humanity, or selfish pride of position set in fixed hostility to all amelioration, is inexcusable. There is evil in the world, there is wrong in the world, there is bondage in many a form besides that of chattel bondage ; and the sympathies and energies of all the world must be united to roll off these mighty burdens. In this work let me do my part in my way ; and do you do your part in your way. But let every one see that he does something, as he believes in Him who gave his life for the redemption of the world.

ART. VIII.—PRESENT CONDITION OF IRELAND.*

THE three journals named below are in opposition to the British government in Ireland, but with different degrees of antagonism. "The Tablet" is a paper in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church, and though English in its spirit and editorship, it sympathizes with the struggles going forward in Ireland ; it denounces the Union, it pleads for Repeal ; but it does not commit itself to any danger of legal

* 1. *The Tablet*. London. May 20, 1848.

2. *The Nation*. Dublin. May 20, 1848.

3. *The United Irishman*. Dublin. May 20, 1848.

prosecution. "The Nation" is a journal pledged violently to more than Repeal, — peaceably if possible, forcibly if it must be. It contains much spirited writing, and reports of speeches, that defy the legal authorities, and despise all compromise. This is the organ of "Young Ireland," and of a portion of the physical-force party. Still, though it hints at republicanism, it does not openly avow it. It professes loyalty to the imperial crown, but disowns the right of the imperial legislature to make laws for Ireland. The real purport of its views is, not simply repeal of the Union, but the absolute nullity of the Union. Meagher is its leading genius. "The Nation" was not strong enough for Mitchell, or Mitchell was too strong for "The Nation," and so he set up "The United Irishman." The United Irishman carries the doctrine of resistance out in its most logical consistency, and to its utmost consequences. It spits upon repeal, it cries for independence; it calls not only for a national parliament, but for national sovereignty. It laughs at "the golden link of the crown," and holds no terms with O'Connell, to whom this phrase, we believe, is attributed. It scouts Victoria, and mocks Conciliation Hall with as much scorn as it does conciliation. It demands a republic at any cost, and with fierce earnestness it preaches the gospel of the pike. It tells the starving masses of Ireland that they cannot be worse off, and that with courageous hearts and a strong right hand, they have the power to be better off. It goes even beyond a mere republic. It attacks the present laws and distribution of property, reprobates political economy and its theories, and insists on a reorganization. The editor, John Mitchell, is the son of a Unitarian minister, esteemed by all men who knew him while he lived. He closed a good life, and a long and useful ministry, a few years ago, in the town of Newry, in the north of Ireland. His son, John Mitchell, is undoubtedly a young man of fine talents, ready to do, and dare, and die, — and, if we can judge, prepared for either fortune, — for victory or death, the tribune or the scaffold. His eloquence is brief, bold, fiery, and condensed. If Meagher be the Cicero of the confederates, Mitchell is the Demosthenes of the democrats. The Tablet calls him "the Irish Danton," and so far as strong and burning words, that neither modify nor compromise, are concerned, the designation is not unsuitable. Yet those who know him speak of him as singularly gentle in personal temper. It is not our

design to enter into either the politics or the purposes of these journals ; but they suggest some remarks on the present condition of Ireland, physical and social.

“ Ireland ” and “ Irish ” seem very simple terms, yet do they stand for very complicated things. Ireland, to an American imagination, consists of space extremely limited ; yet, from its earliest history, that space has been most minutely divided. It would not in mere space form a leading State of this Union. Yet it was once an empire, comprising kingdoms, princedoms, chieftainries. These kingdoms, princedoms, chieftainries, had their respective customs, laws, prejudices, with the feuds and factions that spring from such a constitution. Even now, Ireland has her provinces, counties, baronies, in the civil arrangement, with archdioceses, dioceses, parishes, in the ecclesiastical. The English invaders found Ireland a country of manifold partitions, with a people as subdivided as its surface.

Irish is a word of most composite signification also. We wonder at the ignorance of writers on this country in their strictures on American character. But surely the ignorance of our own writers on the character of other nations is scarcely less, and much less excusable. We wonder that authors of any intelligence should confound under one general idea the reckless men of the West with the orderly men of the East, — the ardent men of the South with the cool men of the North, — the men who hold slaves, with peculiar training as well as peculiar institutions, with other men who have no such training and no such institutions. Yet we are, ourselves, in much grosser error in our popular conception of the Irish. We have, in general, no notion of them but as exiles and drudges. “ Irish ” means with us a class of human beings, whose women do our house-work, and whose men dig our railroads. Judging merely by the senses, we are not much to blame, for these are the relations in which, from infancy, we are accustomed to know them. We have indeed heard of Burke, and Grattan, and Curran, with many other great names besides ; we have a sort of persuasion that these were Irishmen ; but when we try practically to consider them as the compatriots of a mud-covered laborer in the bed of a canal, the contrast is too violent, and by no force of imagination can we bring such extremes together. We, as a people, are intolerant of ragged garments and empty paunches. We would replace the rags by decent

raiment, and we would fill the paunches with wholesome food, but we have only small respect for those who come to us in tatters and who rush to us from famine. We are a people who have had no experience in physical tribulation ; and we do not understand the virtues or the vices which such tribulation can produce. We do not know the fearful selfishness which exceeding want may generate ; but neither do we know the blessed charities which it may exhibit, the holy self-denial which it may manifest. As a consequence, the ill-clad and destitute Irishman is repulsive to our habits and to our tastes. We confound ill-clothing and destitution with ignorance and vice ; for thus they are associated among ourselves, and that fancy is a rare one which can emancipate itself from the power of habit and the impressions of experience. The crowds that cross the Atlantic to seek a refuge here are in general a ragged contrast to our own well-covered masses ; and, thus rude in external appearance, many find it hard to reach the kindred and immortal humanity which is so coarsely tabernacled. Many of us look only at the outside. We do not enter into the soul. We observe the crushed animal, but we hold no converse with the hidden spirit. We have abundance of pity, but we fail in reverence.

It is a foolish thing to judge of a building by a brick ; but the folly is yet greater not to examine even the brick. Irish society is but very partially represented by the portions of it that we have the opportunity of seeing. The structure of Irish society has been very variously and gradually built up, and by materials from a great many quarries. First, there was the old Celtic race ; then the Milesian ; then the Danes ; then the Anglo-Normans and Anglo-Saxons ; then the Scottish colonists sent by the first James ; then the troopers of Cromwell and the boors of the third William. Now each of these successive invasions deposited a new element of discord, and stratum was laid upon stratum of rebellion and confiscation. Out of rebellion and confiscation have proceeded perpetual strife and hatred. But among the worst results we must regard that condition of things as the most unfortunate, which transferred the whole soil of the nation to the hands of strangers, and which placed over the people an alien and unsympathizing aristocracy. We have some observations to make on this condition of things as we proceed. The English in the beginning found the Irish broken up

among themselves into conflicting factions. This, too, was unhappy. Had it been otherwise,—had the Irish been *one*,—had they been concentrated into a national integrity, as the Saxons were when William the Conqueror gained the battle of Hastings, then either the invader would have repelled the invader, or one would have absorbed or exterminated the other. Neither of these results followed ; and the strange paradox is accordingly exhibited in the universe, of a progressive physical amalgamation of the bone and sinew of Ireland with the bone and sinew of Britain, carrying along with it an unceasing, an undying hatred of its government. It is, therefore, very absurd to speak of the Irish as if they were a single, simple, primitive, unmixed race. The very contrary is the fact. Perhaps there is not a country on the whole earth, so limited in its dimensions, so complicated in its population ; and this, not only in the elements that still continue separate, but also in those that have mingled and coalesced.

It has been common to ascribe the agitations and disorders which so frequently convulse Ireland to the impatient and turbulent passions of the Celt, to his inherent love of battle and disturbance, to his unruly and rebellious disposition. No position was ever more false than this ; not only is it without proof, but against proof. The Celts are not especial rebels ; and, indeed, they never have been. The districts in Ireland most troublesome to Britain have always been those which the British colonized. And thus it has been from the days of Strongbow to those of Mitchell. The region in which Cromwell found his hardest task, and that in which he left the most atrocious memory, was that which had its population from English blood. If England has done Ireland wrong, Providence has brought a chastising retribution on her, by means of her own children. The sins of English fathers are not merely visited on their children, but through their children the visitation comes. The most sanguinary page of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland is that which opens at Drogheda and concludes in Wexford. Likewise in 1798, the counties which earliest entered the conflict, and which longest sustained it, were those wherein the descendants of the British chiefly resided. Wexford fought with desperation, and fought to the last ; and Vinegar Hill, with its broken windmill, remains to this hour a memento of courage and a monument of despair.

Let us now take a rapid survey of the two broad divisions of Irish society. We begin with the aristocracy. And by the aristocracy we mean, principally, the owners of the soil. We mean, in general, the landlords, and their immediate kindred. Most of those who have fortunes sufficiently large live in England, or on the Continent, deserting at the same time their country and their duties. The greater number have inherited their estates by conquest or confiscation ; and they have never become native to the land that gives *them* luxury, but that denies life to the wretched men who till it. Accident has made them Irish, and their life is a long regret for being so. They scourge the unhappy nation in which they have had the misfortune to be born, and which has had the still greater misfortune to bear them. The members of this class who have to stay at home because they are not rich enough to go abroad constitute the local magistrates, and fill most of the influential local offices. A large majority of the class is utterly bankrupt, insolvent over and over. Most of these men have but the name of property ; for what are called their estates lie under piles of mortgages and encumbrances. Debt has been heaped upon debt, by each generation in its turn, so that it would be as puzzling to a lawyer to discover the original possession, as it would be to a geologist to describe the primitive condition of this planet. Entails, and other artificial contrivances, have long kept estates in families, and held them from the last action of the law on the part of creditors. But even if they could be sold, they would afford only a miserable percentage on the sums for which they have been, time after time, pawned. There is a story of an Irishman who travelled over England with a pig of peculiar sagacity and buoyancy. The pig was lean, lank, and rough ; but she had the vigor of a race-horse, and the elasticity of a greyhound. Walls she despised, and gates could not confine her. Her master, each morning, was a little space on his road, when she was after him, and each morning they began a new day most lovingly together. Availing himself of the animal's excellent qualities, the fellow sold her at every stage of his journey, being certain, at each successive sale, that he would have her to sell again. The pig which was thus so often sold was, probably, not honestly come by at first. This elastic animal is no bad representative of landed property in Ireland ; we leave it to the imagination of our readers to find out the analogy and to apply it.

Nature has its laws in society, as irrefragable as those it has in matter. Not in one case more than in the other can there be any permanent violation of them. Soon or late, they vindicate themselves. A state of things like that which we have just described cannot last. It must die of its own corruptions, or it must explode, by the force of a pressure that has reached the limit of enduring capacity. The ancestors of Irish landlords bequeathed them broad domains, but with them they bequeathed titles to them that were written and sealed with blood, guarded by a system of legislation that was shocking to humanity. They bequeathed memories of rankling irritation, which the descendants of the injurers were as unable to forget as the descendants of the injured ; which the descendants of the injurers were more unwilling to forgive. Wealth that is acquired by violence is seldom spent with wisdom. Economy is as much the offspring of virtue as of labor. We manage that, and that alone, well, which we gain, not simply by toil, but by honest toil. Let no body of men imagine that they can grow rich by conquest. It is not merely a crime to assume such a position, it is a folly, a delusion ; it is a blunder. The most dearly purchased treasure is that which is acquired by the sword. The highest price for land or gold is blood. Every nation which has gained either, on such conditions, has perished by them ; and it deserved to perish. The ancestors of the Irish aristocracy, from the Catholic Normans to the Puritan Cromwellians, thus obtained their property ; they left it to their children, adding to it the penal legacy of prodigal extravagance and profligate habits.

Our description is general. We know that among the gentry of Ireland there are many and noble exceptions ; and being exceptions, they have our greater admiration. The most common virtues become sublime, when the opposite vices are all but universal. When neglect and oppression of the poor spread over a land, the spots on which they receive some degree of care and kindness appear as little Edens ; but they are Edens in a desert. We speak of the Irish gentry as a class, — and as a class neither their origin nor training, neither their temper nor circumstances, fit them to conciliate, to foster, or to improve the masses that surround them. They never had power over the hearts of the people ; and that power of coercion which they once possessed they have not ceased to love, though they have for

ever lost it. We mean, especially, their monopoly of political influence. Their power as proprietors they yet hold and love; they do not fail to use it either, and to use it as badly as ever. Becoming, as we have seen, deeper in debt with each generation, one anticipating the income of the other, their tastes and desires have, in the same order, been growing more costly. They may have become more refined, but they also have become more expensive. The deadly competition for land in Ireland enables them to raise rents to the highest sum that human labor can produce, and to press down living to the lowest condition that human nature can endure. The tenant is cast upon the ragged soil, to tear from its bosom payment for his master, and starvation for himself. In the latter he always succeeds; and when he fails in the former, the master, by means of arrears, holds in his hands the power to expel him. The owner spends no capital on the soil; he builds no houses or offices; he furnishes no implements; he pursues no experiments in agriculture; he does not instruct the tenant, either by theory or example; and when some year worse than others leaves the tenant at his mercy, the mercy that many a landlord shows is to turn him off, with neither allowance nor compensation for such improvements as he has struggled in his poverty to make.

We fancy some of our readers complaining about the everlasting historical references to account for the state of Ireland. Why, we conceive them saying, — why this reiteration of matters that are gone to the grave of centuries, to explain what our eyes see and our ears hear? But they are *not* gone to the grave of centuries; they were but sown in the living soil of centuries, and now they are ripened into a heavy harvest of a most black and bitter crop. We cannot understand present events without understanding their historical connection, and least of all can we understand those of Ireland. And to us, especially, young among the nations, the example of our elders is important. As it is, the lesson that history teaches does not seem entirely needless to us. Recent as is our independent existence, we have gone far in the pathway of the Old World, and, instead of looking to it as a beacon, we seem rather to follow it as a star. It is more our model than our warning; we study the lesson the wrong way; and it is well if we do not in that wrong way outrun the instruction. We, too, have our oppressions and

our injustice. Under the very shadow of our Capitol, while the welkin rings with gratulations which are to stir with joy the heart of France, a mob gathers to crush free thought, — thought dedicated to the widest liberty and to the highest humanity ; nay, at the very time that shouts of execration were sent across the broad Atlantic, to blast a fallen monarch in his exile, tyrants with hearts harder than the hearts of tigers were tearing off their human brothers and sisters from the region of their native affections, consigning them to a slavery compared with which their former slavery seemed freedom, — dead to their agonies of spirit, — chaining them with iron that did not gall half so terribly as the iron that had entered into their soul, — and all because, prompted by instincts which God and nature had implanted, they sought that freedom for which God and nature had designed them. What a mockery is this ! What right have such men to hoot at Louis Philippe, contrasted with whom Louis Philippe is an angel of light ? What title have such men to vociferate acclamations for liberty ? Liberty is but insulted by their praise. We, too, seem in a fair way to enthrone the soldier, and to idolize the sword ; to give strength the place of virtue, and victory the place of right. But let us not be deceived. God is no more mocked by nations with impunity than by individuals, and nations, as well as individuals, will reap according to what they sow. We may despise the lesson of history, but we cannot reverse its law ; and this law is made evident in the records of all ages. Wrong and right make no account of time ; they are certain and eternal ; their consequences may not be instantly seen, but they are not lost, — nay, they do not even linger.

There is but one step from the aristocracy to the peasantry in Ireland, and that step is over a fearful precipice into an abyss of indescribable, of unimaginable desolation. There are but few intermediate grades to break the view, or to soften the contrast ; it is a yawning gulf, exposed in all its horrors, from which the gazer shrinks back affrighted, with a reeling head and with quivering nerves. Yet must we, however loath, ask our readers to lean with us for a moment over it.

The physical state of the Irish peasantry did not in past times seem capable of being lower than it was. Even then, it was the lowest which any region of the civilized world could present. Their dwellings were hovels ; their clothing, rags ; and their food, an almost unseasoned root. But all

this was paradise to what their state has been since, — to what it is now. The very root which was so despised we have come to regard almost with reverence ; and when we see how, by the withering of this single root, hundreds of thousands of human beings withered along with it, we can understand how the heathen Egyptians bowed down to leeks in worship. The grave of the potato-seed was the grave of men, women, and children ; but the potato died knowing not its own existence, while the men, women, and children that perished with it expired in ghastly and consuming torture, with blank despair of this inhospitable world, — yet, thank God ! not untrusting of a better. Far off though it was, we heard the low moaning of that despair, for at the extremities of earth the heart of man can feel the pantings of another heart that suffers, and, even where it cannot give relief, it fails not to give pity. What we could, we did ; but the woe was so huge as almost to paralyze compassion into hopelessness. It surpassed all that the wealth of a rich neighbour could afford, and all that the charity of nations could dispense to alleviate it. Who can faintly picture what even one family must have endured in such circumstances ? Think of them turning their weary eyes around on the arid fields, and up to the sky, that seemed to grow sickly to them from hour to hour ; awaking in the morning, without a morsel to greet them ; watching through the day, counting minute after minute, awaiting the possible relief that never came, or that came too late ; clasping each other on the filthy straw, or bare cold floor, through the miserable night ; sleeping to dream of feasting, awaking to die of famine. And yet we have not reached the worst part of the case. The most fatal pain lies here, not in the appetites, but in the affections. Look at the emaciated father, who comes in after vain search all day for food, and has nothing to offer his wife and little ones but a meal of unwholesome herbs, picked out of the ditches ; look at him when he can find even these no longer, — when competition has consumed them. Has it entered into the heart to conceive of his affliction ? Yet is that of the wife and mother even greater, who beholds the manly form bent and wasted, of him that had been once her strength and her guide ; who beholds her chickens clustering about her, opening their craving mouths for food, and drooping as they get none. This picture is pale to what the reality must have been ; and of such realities there was no small number. It is to be

feared that they have not yet passed ; nay, it is to be feared that some are now passing.

The Irish peasant in former days had a hut, such as it was ; but in these days his master hunts him out of it, as if he were a rat, and the land refuses him a hole for shelter. The workhouse is full ; the jail would be relief, and he breaks the law for refuge in a prison ; but by and by crime itself will be as fruitless as charity, and the prisons will not bear the throngs that seek them. In former days the Irish peasant sat down to his potatoes, and while they laughed in his face, his partner and his offspring laughed around him. His cabin was of mud, covered with sods or straw ; but it gave him a home, and, in general, love and peace abode in it. Nor was hospitality absent. No poor-laws existed, yet were beggars fed ; no workhouses were in being, yet were beggars lodged ; the pauper had his seat at the peasant's meal, he had his covering under the peasant's roof.

If his condition even then was physically still below that of the Russian serf or the negro slave, what shall we say of his present condition ? The Russian is a filthy creature in all his habits ; but his filth coexists with comfort and abundance. His filth is of his own creation, and he remains filthy because he chooses to do so. His dwelling is rude, but it is warm ; his food is coarse, but it is plentiful. He is in no fear that any landlord will turn him out, for he has the right to continue where he toils, and to die where he was born. If he must serve the emperor when the emperor commands, he knows what his lot is, and he does not complain of it. In general, he glories in it ; for to be changed from being a serf into a soldier is to rise in his own esteem. Without overlooking the degradation of humanity and the sorrow which slavery inflicts upon the negro, in the mere matter of bodily well-being there is no comparison between his state and that of the Irish peasant. It is the interest of his master that he shall have at least so much care as shall render him a salable article or a profitable laborer. His master is induced to give him a healthy youth, and he is bound to provide for him in age ; it is his interest even that he shall enjoy mental quiet and contentment, for the more cheerful he is, the more useful. No doubt he is often subjected to cruelty ; but even to the slave Christianity is a protection, for it infuses a sentiment into the moral heart, and creates a power of social opinion, which is stronger than law, stronger than tyranny ; and these,

if they do not break the yoke, alleviate bondage. Unlike the Russian serf, the Irish peasant's home is uncertain, and it is his master's desire not to keep him, but to cast him off ; and while all the power is on one side, there is no acknowledged claim on the other. Unlike the negro slave, the Irish peasant has no hold on the interest of his lord, as he certainly has no hold on his affections. He has no public opinion in the class to which his lord belongs to shield him from oppression, and the sympathy which he has among his own is such as tempts him often to revenge himself by methods always to be lamented. He may stand in manhood or sink in age, there is none but God on whom he can cast the burden of his care, for among men those who feel for him and with him are as helpless as himself.

We have already stated a sad case, but we know from every week's report, that, at present, other terrible elements are at work. The potato withered last year ; this year the pike is forged and whetted. Fierce and dark passions are boiling in the breasts of men, and threaten to burst out in the tempest of civil, bloody strife, with all its hatreds and terrors. Despair has ceased to be quiescent ; it has started up in wildness from its lair, and shakes its Gorgon locks in deadly anger ; it has ceased to wail, it thunders ; and if it does not strike, it grasps its weapon.

It were vain to enter specially into causes which have produced effects such as these we have been describing. Whatever causes we might assign, remote or proximate, there is still an actuality before us of a most appalling character, — a whole people starving amidst fertility, and arising in madness to look for hope in the face of death. Before this spectacle, abstract questions lose all their interest. Our gaze is fascinated by the misery which is before us, which stares on us with horrid eye, and from which we cannot turn away, though we look on it with trembling. The plain, open wretchedness is there ; but it so appalls us, that we are unable to inquire or to discuss how it came to be there, and the babble of discussion on hypotheses to account for hunger and revolt, by men who feed amply and feed at ease, is as offensive to our taste as the affliction itself is painful to our feelings. Whatever series of causes has issued in the effects which we contemplate, we see evidently and with alarm that it cannot stop, that it is not exhausted in these effects. We hope and trust that all these irritating elements may be lost

in peaceful amelioration. The British power has many and grave crimes to answer for ; but we should lament with no common lamentation the wound that civilization must receive, not merely in the disruption of the British empire, but in any severe shock to it. The shower of lava that buries a single city, the earthquake that shakes one to pieces, history notes down in words of pathos and sadness that move the heart for ever. But the disorder which should tear to atoms laws, letters, culture, customs, — which should crumble to dust beautiful structures of public and private taste, — which should reduce to chaos arts of fancy and utility, — all of which it has taken centuries to rear, — would be a calamity to be compared, not with a shower of lava, a torrent, a hurricane, an earthquake, but with a deluge which should come down from the black wrath of heaven, and bury in its flood, not millions only, but the works of millions also for a thousand years. Yet we feel that in the British islands affairs cannot continue as they are. In no part of them are the people contented ; in Ireland they are mad. They are in the extremity of wretchedness ; it is no wonder they should be in the extremity of desperation. The Irish people are starving, and yet the Irish soil is not barren. With all the ill-treatment which it has to bear, it yet continues rich ; the clouds pour down fatness and the earth gives forth abundance, yet multitudes do not so much live as wither. The soil is vital while the people die.

It seemed a mystery to the inhabitants of this country how thousands should expire of hunger at a time when provisions were sent away from every port ; and why, while the war-ship went in with charity, the merchant-ship should go out for gain, both freighted with the staff of life. The mystery is easily explained. The manufacture and the commerce of Ireland consist generally in the production of food and its exportation. The manufacturers are the tillers of the soil, who give in their labor all the capital, and pay high rents besides for that on which they toil. The landlords are the owners of the soil, who expend no capital, and who take even more than the profit. The land cannot support these two classes, as they are at present related. The landlord must have state and luxury, not expending time or labor or money, though the tenant, spending time and labor and money, has not subsistence. The best of the produce, animal and vegetable, is exported to meet the landlord's de-

mands ; the worst is retained to supply the cultivator's wants. The cultivator must pay or quit. He sells his wheat, his oats, his stock, to pay ; he reserves the potato on which to exist. The potato fails ; the cultivator becomes a pauper or a corpse. But all are not thus at once, and so, while wheat is going out from Cork from some to pay the landlord, maize is coming in for alms to others, who have already paid him. A man will feed his pig with potatoes, but he may never feed himself with pig. The man feeds the pig but to sell it, and he sells it to pay one who had never had trouble in rearing it. Rent not only takes the surplus production of the tiller's labor, but constantly anticipates even more than the whole. It may, then, easily be seen how the mass of a plentiful general productiveness may be going out from a country, while the mass of its producers are running to the workhouse or famishing in their cabins.

We write practically and prosaically. We should more delight ourselves, in writing upon Ireland, to write poetically ; for Ireland has much, indeed, to stir the spirit of poetry. Ireland is a land of poetry. The power of the Past there over every imagination renders it a land of romance. The past is yet an actuality in Ireland ; in all the other parts of the British islands it is a song. The tragedy of Flodden-field moves a Scotchman's feelings, but it does not disturb his business ; the battle of Bannockburn calls up his enthusiasm, but, though it keeps him late at the bottle, it never keeps him late from the counting-house. The imprisonment of the poet-king Jamie softens his affections, but it leaves his judgment perfectly clear on bills of exchange and the price of stocks. Even the battle of Culloden is gone long ago to the calm impartiality of things that were. The Welshmen take English money without remorse, and say not a word about the assassin, King Edward, and the murder of their bards. Even the English themselves have but faint remembrance of the heptarchy, the revolt of the barons, the wars of the roses, the death of the first Charles, and the abdication of the second James. But events do not pass so rapidly in Ireland. Ireland is a country of tradition, of meditation, and of great idealism. It has much of the Eastern feeling of passion added to fancy, with continuity of habit, as in the East, connected with both passion and fancy. Monuments of war, of princedom, and religion cover the surface of the land. The meanest man lingers under the shadow of piles which tell

him that his fathers were not slaves. He toils in the field or he walks on the highways with structures before him that have stood the storms of time, through which the wind echoes with the voice of centuries, and that voice is to his heart the voice of soldiers, of scholars, and of saints. We would pen no chilling word respecting the impulse of nationality that now seems astir in Ireland. We honor everywhere the spirit of nationality. We honor the glorious heroism which for an idea and a conviction, if it cannot *do*, can always dare and die. Much there is in Ireland that we most dearly love. We love its music ; sweet and sad, and low and lonely, it comes with a pathos, a melancholy, a melody, on the pulses of the heart, that no other music breathes, and while it grieves, it soothes. It seems to flow with long complaint over the course of ages, or to gasp with broken sobs through the ruins and fragments of historic thought. We are glad with the humor of Ireland, so buoyant and yet so tender, quaint with smiles, quivering with sentiment, pursing up the lips while it bedews the eyelids. We admire the bravery of Ireland, which may have been broken, but never has been bent, — which has often been unfortunate, but which never has been craven. We have much affection for the Irish character. We give unfeigned praise to that purity of feeling which surrounds Irish women in the humblest class, and amidst the coarsest occupations, with an atmosphere of sanctity. We acknowledge with heart-felt satisfaction that kindred love in the Irish poor, that no distance can weaken, and that no time can chill. We feel satisfied with our humanity, when we see the lowly servant-girl calling for her wages, or drawing on the savings' bank for funds, to take tears from the eyes of a widowed mother in Connaught, or fears from the soul of an aged father in Munster. We behold a radiance of grandeur around the head of the railroad laborer, as he bounds, three thousand miles away, at the sound of repeal, at the name of O'Connell, and yet more as his hand shakes, as he takes a letter from the post-office, which, rude as it may be in superscription, is a messenger from the cot in which his childhood lay, is an angel from the fields, the hills, the streams, the mountains, and the moors wherein his boyhood sported. We remember with many memories of delight, too, the beauties of Ireland's scenery. We recollect the fields that are ever green ; the hills that bloom to the summit ; the streamlets that in sweetness seem to sing her legends ; the

valleys where the fairies play ; the voices among her glens, that sound from her winds as with the spirits of her bards ; the shadows of her ruins at moonlight, that in pale and melancholy splendor appear like the ghosts of her ancient heroes. We would, could we choose our theme, rather linger on the beautiful songs of Moore than on the prosecutions of Meagher or of Mitchell ; and if in this paper we have dwelt more upon the physical and social wants of Ireland than on her higher and more ideal qualities, it is because the immediate pressure of present events has left us neither soul nor strength to do otherwise.

But what is to come out of this pressure ? We ask the question with fear and doubt. Is Ireland to come in conflict with England ? We cannot always trust rumor, but rumor is at present dark and ominous. The event, we hope, may not come ; but the very sound of it is fearful. War, in any way, is a monstrous calamity ; but civil war is a calamity that transcends imagination. War between England and Ireland would be a civil war,—there is no disguising it,—and a civil war of the worst description. We ask not which party would be right, but still we reiterate that this would be among the greatest of calamities. We do not inquire what title England has to govern Ireland, but we do ask what means Ireland has to combat England.

We think that in revolutions, as in all human movements, there are certain ethical conditions, as well as prudential ones, which true men and wise will always respect. War has its morals as well as peace. Moreover, as war is of all controversies the most afflicting, as it is that which most involves innocent persons who have had no part in bringing it about, who yet may suffer the worst of its consequences, it should be the last, as it should be the most solemn, of human resolves. And if war is not to be sustained by civilized measures, if there is no guaranty that humanity even in its last strife shall be respected, to originate it is to assume a terrible responsibility. If citizen is to butcher citizen, if the revolvers are to exterminate the loyal and the loyal to show no mercy to the revolvers, if one has no power to compel the other even to military moderation, alas, alas for him who sets on the strife ! Revolution may be an accident ; but if it be a calculation, it should be a very sober calculation ; at best, it should be a very sad one. The simple fact, that a man thinks little of his own life, gives him no title to our respect ; for the

lowest of the human family have been found in this predicament. We have seen culprits at the bar stand up to receive the sentence of death, and ever among the basest we have noticed those who listened to the sentence perfectly calm and the most unmoved. When the lives of others are concerned, the man who cares nothing for his own often the longest hesitates. With the most determined conviction of the right, it is the thing most sorrowful beneath the stars to have brothers of the same soil making a red sea with the life-streams of each other's hearts, in which, with curses and detestation, both sink in despair together.

Then, in cases that involve vast consequences both to masses and to individuals, the prudential does, in the highest sense, become ethical ; so that what is extremely dangerous is extremely wrong. What are the means and resources of war, at present, in the war-party of Ireland against England? This is not an unwise question, for He who was best and wisest has said, — "What king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?" They who would by force deliberately revolutionize must, if true, thoroughly ponder this question, and in the great court of conscience they must not only ponder, but decide. A physical struggle with England, as a mere physical struggle, would to a thoughtful man just now present a serious case within this court, and outside of it the consequences would be most solemn. England is at peace. England is, on the whole, prudent as to her colonies and her foreign relations. England has fleets and armies compactly organized and thoroughly disciplined. England impels all the organic machinery of the law and of power. Within Ireland she has a numerous party, and the most consummate statesmanship which would oppose Irish nationality, the most veteran soldiery which would fight against Irish independence, would be of Irish production. The composite nature of the British empire, which might appear to be a weakness, is in reality a principle of strength. And this, by a revolutionary thinker, should be considered in relation to the *matériel* of the British army. There is no army in the world in which the soldier is so separated from the citizen as in the British. There is no army in the world, which, from its compounded character, the government can better wield. A man from the north of Scotland may stand in the ranks beside a man

from the south of England ; both may be opposed to an Irish insurgent,— be cordially willing to shoot him, and, if cause demanded, to shoot each other. The army is so mixed, from localities, religions, prejudices, that it has no unity of spiritual sentiment or of social purpose ; it fears not to rush against the deadliest resistance, but it would not dare to disobey the most faintly whispered command. England can use this gigantic instrument ; it is for those who would lead Ireland into war to think what Ireland can bring against it. She has a tremendous artillery, both on the land and on the sea. Nor is her strength in force alone ; she has on her side the fears of the timid and the hopes of the aspiring, the distinction that allures the ambitious and the riches that bribe the sordid.

If, however, there be ethical and prudential considerations to be taken into view on the side of resistance, there are those of infinitely more solemn obligation on the side of authority. On the moral side of the question, it is for rulers to inquire whether the madness and misery of the people are not traceable to the neglect and misuse of the people. It is for rulers to ask themselves whether the millions have had justice done even to their bodies. Have men had leave to toil, and when they have had that melancholy leave, have they had by it the means to live ? In what way have the vanity or indulgences of the few interfered with the industry and comforts of the many ? And when the many at last make their sufferings felt, is complaint to be silenced by force ? If in the end the blood of thousands flow, upon whose head must that blood be charged ? The conduct of members in the British House of Commons, on the evening of the day of the Chartist meeting, strikes us with a painful surprise. Bodies of gaunt men gathered within view of the metropolis, — a cloud of silent but of potent passions, that hovered on its margin with dread foreboding. The metropolis itself was one vast garrison. Men were silent, women feared ; and neither breathed freely till the assurance came with night that danger had disappeared. On the other side of the Channel, resistance was openly and fearlessly preached, and it was not alone preached, but prepared for. On that solemn night, — a night one might suppose in which the most reckless would be serious, when, if men stood in England on solid ground, the rest of Europe was heaving with a moral earthquake, — on that night, the assembled Commons of the British empire met the complaints of infuriated masses with peals of contemptu-

ous laughter. This was assuredly as far from the grave decency which they owed to the occasion, as it was from the dignity of senators and the wisdom of statesmen. When heathen Nineveh was threatened, her rulers decreed penance in sackcloth and ashes ; when Christian London was threatened, her legislators laughed. Such laughter sounds more like the rebound of cowardice freed from danger, than the levity of tranquil courage ; the laughter, not of self-possession, but of trepidation. If thoughtless, it was folly, and if intentional, it was worse. Are property, privilege, and power to have all attention and respect, while want and labor are for mockery and scorn ? Such conduct implies neither magnanimity nor good sense.

It is for rulers to ask themselves whether the millions have had justice done to their minds. Ireland has had for centuries a church of monstrous inutility and enormous wealth forced on her, against her creed and her consent, with revenues that would have instructed all her people, and done much to feed her poor. England lavishes funds with imperial prodigality over the whole earth, as well as within her own borders ; but is penurious with miser meanness in the support of popular instruction. The cost of Prince Albert's stables would educate a province. The cost of the queen's nursery would educate a kingdom. How are incongruities like this, and this is but one of a legion, to be endured in the nineteenth century, when the human mind has awakened to its rights and to its power, when human energies assume a might with which they never acted before. The most ragged Chartist is a man, as well as the best-clad lord ; and take the clothes away, God and nature have not placed any immeasurable distance between them, after all. Of the two, the Chartist may be the better man, and the Chartist is beginning to feel this. If the Chartist owes submission to the laws of his country, his country owes obligations to him ; and all moralists concede that there is a boundary beyond which submission ceases to be a virtue. It is the duty of wise and good rulers never to let that boundary be reached. If authority demands obedience, authority should be so used that the obedience may be willing as well as rational. This is not only true humanity ; it is good policy.

Thus expediency teaches the same lesson to rulers as morality. The victory over the Chartists, notwithstanding the boastings of the middle classes and the nobles, was a doleful

victory. If it showed the strength of government, it equally displayed its danger. Masses made the commencement of a demonstration which may be only the beginning of an end. The Chartists were dispersed, but was Chartism annihilated? Were the grievances extinguished out of the depths of which Chartism cries with its loud and strong appeal of agony? It may for the time retreat to its cellar-and-garret concealment; moody and wordless it may sit brooding on its wrongs, but, passive though it seems, it is but preparing for other efforts of greater vigor and of calmer decision. In the tactics of society as well as in the tactics of war, it may be a fatal error to mistake retirement for defeat, or the possession of the field for victory. For the present, Chartism may be discouraged in England, insurrection may be put down in Ireland; but English Chartism and Irish insurrection come out from sources which no outward force can reach. The agency that can reach the fountains from which they spring, that can purify or change the direction of the streams, must be inward, radical, and moral. The pikemen of Ireland, it is true, might be hewn to pieces, but when bodies lay stiff upon the ground, and gibbets tainted the air, when native blood darkened the stream and sullied the field, nothing would result from triumph but fresh calamities and increase of enmity. Even as to physical security the strongest government is liable to err. Rulers may think themselves safe within their battlements of bayonets, but their thought may be delusive. Desperation may achieve what no discipline could attempt. Enthusiasm may be more than a match for skill; passion may shatter calculation; and against the uproused fury of excited millions, garrisons, artillery, the most solid columns of soldiery, might prove as feeble as an Indian's tent upon the prairie in the midst of a hurricane. The risk of collision is great on both sides; but rulers have their share in it as well as the people. How great that is, recent events, the money-lenders of Europe, vagrant ministers, and kings out of place, can plainly tell. It is better to conciliate than to provoke; and surely that old saw, "Prevention is easier than cure," is a precept as worthy of observance by doctors of the body politic as by doctors of the body corporal. What would seem grace at one time becomes unworthy of acceptance at another; and to know that point at which concession should anticipate compulsion implies a degree of administrative sagacity and of legislative foresight which it is

rarely given to politicians or to ministers to possess. The politician is among the most common and the most vulgar of characters ; the statesman, among the highest and the most unfrequent. England, and other countries which we shall not name, may start a politician from every hedge ; but it requires a generation to supply a statesman. There is a time when concession may be grace ; let that time pass, and the very offer becomes insult. It is then too late. " Too late " is a phrase, in its ordinary use, of harrowing significance. When love becomes despised, vows are then too late. When friendship known often to be violated implores reconciliation from betrayed friendship, distrust has entered, and the prayer is too late. When disease has fixed its seat in central vitality, and the neglected physician is called to remove it, he looks only on the eye, he touches only the pulse, and he says, it is too late. That " too late " is despair to those who hear it ; but the fact is certain then, and they cannot remove it with many tears,—no, if their tears should make a deluge. " Too late " is the burden of all the tragedies of individual and of private life, and just now it is the burden of desolated thrones. The individual heart that breaks in its remorse groans out, " It is too late " ; and so does many a royal one exclaim, that withers in its exile. " Come, let us sit upon the ground," says one of Shakspeare's characters to another, " and tell strange stories of the deaths of kings." The phrase, to suit our present age, should be, — " Come, let us sit upon the ground, and tell strange stories of the *flight* of kings." England's sovereign may feel secure amidst the crash of dynasties ; but those who would keep her safe must not despise the warning that booms around them. If her throne would be secure, it must be founded in righteousness ; and if her sceptre would be honored, it must be a sceptre of peace. Her throne must not have beneath it the fear of any, but the love of all ; and her sceptre must be a wand that waves not amidst complaints, but amidst blessings. England may seem strong, Ireland may seem weak, but there is no strength except in justice ; and if Ireland in this has the advantage of England, she is stronger, though Ireland were small as the Duchy of Baden, and England were large as the empire of China.

After all, we are moralists, not politicians, and we cannot forget our vocation. We may be accused of repetition, but we shall not risk the charge of unfaithfulness. England has

been deeply guilty towards Ireland, and Ireland has now become her punishment. England within late years may have had kinder intentions towards Ireland than the England of former ages ; but notwithstanding her kind intentions, the Ireland which she so long ill-treated has become her perplexity and her penalty. The Ireland, which, by neglect, by partial or adverse legislation, she has impoverished or kept in poverty, deluges her cities, swamps her labor-market, paralyzes her industrial energies, reduces the wages of her people, and continues to pull them down rapidly to Irish hunger, Irish nakedness, and Irish despair. Wrong is indissolubly bound to retribution. This we have before expressed, but it can hardly be too often re-asserted. Nations, as well as individuals, may want that large foresight which sees afar into the future, and which perceives, in all circumstances, that it is not merely the dictate of virtue, but the wisdom of calculation, to deal justly, to do right. They may be blinded by the present passion or the present gain, but the law works on, though they do not, or cannot, or will not see it, until the crash of its power awakens them to doom. Late repentance is better than perpetual sin, but sin plants seeds of evil which produce their envenomed crop despite of the most penitent remorse. That justice alone is safety, and that unrighteousness is sure destruction, is written on every page of life, on every page of history. It is a lesson which all that run may read, and yet it is a lesson which is as universally neglected as it is universally admitted.

Physically, socially, morally, the present state of Ireland is most gloomy and most disastrous. Hunger and hatred go hand in hand ; hunger yearning for the potato, while hatred prepares a pike. The cloud of agitation gathers, and seems every hour to grow darker. The bursting of the cloud threatens to be near ; but as yet there appears among the people no man who could "ride upon the whirlwind, and direct the storm." The people are not only divided into manifold and inveterate parties, but parties are again divided among themselves. Young men harangue the people against the troops, and these troops preserve their lives from the passions of the people. What mind has yet shown itself so calm in thought, so comprehensive in reflection, so decisive in action, that it could reconcile all the contradictions of popular Ireland, and bring them united and compacted against the disciplined and regulated force of England ? Fervor

there is in abundance, — enthusiasm, passion, ready utterance, and daring speech, — the most impulsive eloquence. We doubt, indeed, whether in Ireland, in the grandest day of her oratorical renown, there ever shot forth a crop of finer words than comes out now from the soil of her young and impassioned genius. But though a great man said that “words are things,” the agents who have created greatest things were men of fewest words. Washington could not have made an oration to save his life, and Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, had but small power of thinking on his feet. We do not underrate the force of grand and impassioned speech; we hold that utterance is a sublime faculty, that it can set the brain on fire and the heart in flame; but to guide a nation, when that nation has reached its climax of excitement, the finest utterance will be feeble. It was Moses who led the hosts of Israel out from Egypt and to the borders of the promised land, yet Moses was poor of speech; Aaron, who was eloquent, was but the mouth of Moses, and Aaron was always only secondary. At the present hour we behold on the popular side in Ireland no commanding mind, no mind of large capacity for counsel, no mind of varied resources for command. There is no great-mind on the other side either, but the other side controls all the machinery of government and has all the *prestige* of power.

We sympathize with the sufferings of Ireland, and we lament her evils; we look with a painful interest upon her present crisis; but at this distance, were it even within the province of our journal, it would be idle in us to speculate on remedies. Whether a repeal of the Union would remove the grievances of which Ireland complains, it is not for us to say; it is clear, however, that the enactment of the Union did not prevent them. When the Union was first mooted in the British Parliament, Pitt presented the measure in a speech of remarkable compass and power. Imposing as a rhetorician, quick as a debater, and possessing a fluency wonderfully correct, Pitt was seldom grandly eloquent, but in this speech he became so. In picturing the future which was to open upon Ireland under the sunshine of an imperial parliament, he rose to a kind of millennial grandeur. Sectarian strifes were to be allayed; political divisions would be assuaged; capital would flow into the country; industry would be encouraged; commerce would advance; tranquillity and

comfort would abound. Large promises were given, and bright prophecies uttered ; but where are the fruits of the promises, and where are the things foretold in the prophecies ? After half a century, there is not one spot in Ireland which answers to the anticipations of Pitt. The Union was no measure of the people ; it was a contrivance of intriguing ministers, effected by acting on the base motives of men, who grasped at the bribe and gave up their country. Had the Union been honest, had it been the fair choice of the whole people, and on terms approved by their wisest counsellors, had it been cordial and reciprocal, it is not for us to conclude, from what we now see, what might have been. Had imperial legislation given emancipation at once to the Catholics, and given it generously and graciously, had it relieved the country from the Church establishment, and left the care of each form of religion to those who professed it, had it introduced a bounteous system of national education, had it treated the sacred feelings of the larger division of Irishmen with kindness and respect, had it done justice to popular sentiment in the distribution of political offices, had it separated the administration of law from the spirit of faction, by showing the misguided that the balance of justice never swerved except on the side of mercy, had the Union been a bond of friendship and an interchange of benefits, it would have been a reality. But none of these things took place, and as it was, it was not a union, but a cheat. The delay to grant Catholic emancipation doomed the people to thirty years of struggle, and the manner in which it came at last tended rather to irritate than to pacify. The long struggle educated them in the consciousness of their strength, taught them how to use it, and emboldened them for continued resistance. The galling vexation of tithes and church-rates was long sustained, and that huge anomaly, that monstrous blunder of folly and injustice, still remains, — a Protestant Church supported by a Catholic people, — the Church the richest in the world, and the people the poorest.

The Union has assuredly not produced social order. If it has, where are we to look for it ? Shall we seek it in Conciliation Hall, or in that of the confederates ? Shall we hear its voice in the modulated complaint of John O'Connell, or in the fierce defiance of Smith O'Brien, — in the florid imagination of Meagher, or the concentrated passion of Mitchell ? Shall we turn, for its pleasant sounds, to the anvil on which

the pike is shaped ? There is the " Song of the Bell," and the " Forging of the Anchor," — shall we dedicate a lyric to the social order of Ireland in the " Song of the Pike " ? Shall we take as evidence of its existence the congregations of moody peasants that a word can bring together, and that a motion can excite ? Or shall we prefer to see it in fortifications, where death lies in wait for thousands, should these thousands show signs of fight ? The truth is, the whole condition of Ireland is disjointed, and whether Repeal could remedy it or not, we do not aver, but, as we have observed, the Union has, at least, not averted this monstrous, this appalling wretchedness. The wealthy and the poor are in no true relations to each other. Their relations are those of coercion on the one side, and sullen discontent on the other, — a discontent that seems growing to the boldness of an open resistance. Complaining is in the streets ; disease is in the hovel and the cellar ; the dying go where the weary are at rest, and the surviving stay behind, not knowing how to live. Cities have become garrisons ; palaces are turned into barracks ; the land is bare of bread ; it is filled with soldiers. Come the tourist into Ireland, whence he may, — from France, England, Germany, Russia, Asia, or America, from any region of civilized man between Cape Horn and Gibraltar, from the Ganges to the Tiber, — the wonder is alike in each, the testimony as uniform, the expression of it as unvarying in phrase, as the sources from which it is derived are diverse and independent, — each finds in Ireland a singularity of wretchedness, an originality of misery, which outruns not only his experience, but his fancy. Well said Colonel Napier, while describing the state of Europe at the commencement of the Peninsular war, — " Of Ireland it is unnecessary to speak ; her wrongs and her misery, peculiar and unparalleled, are too well known and too little regarded to call for any remark." The author who wrote these words is at present commanding, we believe, in Ireland. What would he say of Ireland, if he should undertake to write another book ?

These agitations in Ireland arise from no superficial causes. It is short-sighted and vain, to ascribe them to temporary influences, or to the agency of individuals. As well might the fever which burns through the body of a patient be ascribed to the quickness of the pulse, which is the concomitant, but not the cause, of the disease. No man, no

class of men, no combination of talents, no force of genius, no subtlety of scheming, can widely agitate or long control millions of people who are governed well and feel that they are. No such power can disturb a nation permanently, when the masses of it are content; and they will be content, when they know by experience that in its prosperity they have their due share, and in its adversity no more. The potency, therefore, which leaders have over multitudes, they gain not all from character, not all from mental superiority; they gain it from the uneasy elements which the multitudes themselves contain. Though the Irish leaders, therefore, were as bad as their opponents paint them, the question as to the real condition of the country would remain the same; that is a settled fact, untouched entirely either by the eulogium or the abuse of this man or the other. These agitations cannot be subdued by force, for though they may disappear for a period, it is only to come up again with maturer strength. They arise from radical causes, and they will cease only with radical changes. Whether by an imperial or domestic legislature, Ireland must be governed by her consent, not by coercion, — by the power of opinion, and not by the edge of the sword. She must no longer be a military province. She cannot continue to be as she has been and as she is. The time has come for her to insist on a higher place in the empire, — in the world, — and not insist in vain. That she ought to have it is the decision of that sentiment of justice, which acts strongly, and more strongly with every successive change, in the conscience of all Christendom.

In the opening part of this article, we suggested a lesson of warning to be learned from the present state of Europe. In this closing part of it, we would suggest a lesson of encouragement. The youngest and the oldest of us have heard little from the political writers of Europe but prophecies on the instability of our government, or on the certainty of its failure. We were either so wise or so rash as to take no alarm from these prophecies. That we were right to feel at peace, most of them will now admit. These forebodings were written under the shadows of thrones that have tumbled to pieces about the writers' ears, and the thrones, which were to stand securely on their simple and sound foundation, while our clumsy and unwieldy confederacy was to go to pieces, went in fragments to the earth, before the ink was dry upon the printer's paper; yet probably our institutions may be firm, when dy-

nasties that mocked us shall be forgotten. Our government, it was said, was but an experiment ; it proves now not an experiment, but experience,—an experience from which men of ancient states are wise enough to learn. We have our mobs, and mobs often of the worst kind ; but they quickly dissolve, and leave no more impression on the solidity of our social structure than a snow-shower does upon the granite of Monadnock. We have evils among us, we confess, that cry to heaven ; we have abuses of which we may well be ashamed ; we have sins that call for deep repentance ; yet, not indulging in any idle trust, but active with individual effort, we may hope that Providence will in time cause much that we lament — that the good and true everywhere lament — to be seen and known in our country no more for ever. We may have unworthy men in the administration of our affairs, and unworthy motives may often dictate our measures. In this we are not singular among nations ; but we are thus far singular among nations, that the substantial rights of the people cannot be essentially injured even by the bad purposes of scheming politicians, nor the framework of the government overturned. We preserve unity with a diversity of independent states, and with a widening and complicated suffrage. With the greatest latitude of individual action and individual opinion, the administration of affairs is conducted, upon the whole, with order and tranquillity. We have, as have other countries, crimes against life and property ; but, except in some wild regions, life and property are as safe here as anywhere upon earth. One fatal mistake the rulers in Europe committed from which we were free. They supposed they kept power from the people because they kept the franchise from them. But people have power all the same, whether they possess the franchise or not ; and the people will use it, too. The question is, In what way will they use it best ? By irregular demonstrations and by external pressure, or by orderly arrangement and organic representation ? Each man here acts through his vote, and, as all the people have votes, there is not even the possibility of an external pressure. It is by this external pressure, by this irregular agency of the unfranchised mass, that revolutions are effected ; and no nation thus circumstanced is secure from revolution otherwise than by force. But force has greatly lost its power, and will soon cease to be a protection. If men are not fit for the franchise, then it is the duty of governments to qualify them. The

duty in our country is so to educate men, that they may use intelligently the votes they hold of right ; the duty of other countries is so to educate men, that they may be prepared to use the votes which, if not given by reform, they will take by revolution.

The agitations which at present excite all Europe are of solemn import. They indicate a progressive development of great ideas, a progressive recognition of grand principles. The soul of humanity has been at work in them, and that is a power which no armies can conquer. From the soul, society has its existence and has its glory ; give the soul freedom, and there is life ; straiten it, wrong it, and you prepare destruction. It has a might which can sweep away the strongest ramparts, which can silence the loudest cannon, which can blunt the sharpest spears. The point of the bayonet, it was once thought, could quiet all popular remonstrance ; but the bayonet has ceased to be invincible. Sentiments have become stronger than weapons. Society begins more and more to feel its humanity. A revelation has come to multitudes that they are men, and it is this faith which works in them with most wondrous efficacy. It is in the strength of this that they burst their chains asunder, and dash their fetters at their keepers. Beneath the outward events of the world, — the battles of parties, the schemings of factions, the plottings of intriguers, the elevation of peoples and the fall of kings, the doings of the active and the theories of the speculative, — the Providence of God is operating in the depths of humanity, invigorating its capacities, guiding its destiny, and preparing it to vindicate everywhere that Divine likeness in which it was originally created.

H. G.

* * This article was written and put into the printer's hands, before the news of the condemnation of Mitchell, by the court before which he was arraigned, had reached this country. Our limits exclude any remarks which that event might suggest.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Gospel Narratives : their Origin, Peculiarities, and Transmission. By HENRY A. MILES. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 16mo. pp. 168.

THIS volume belongs to that class of books which deserve favorable notice, not so much for affording proofs of original and profound investigation suited to attract the regards of learned inquirers, as for supplying common readers with useful information, correct, though second-hand, and conveyed in a style at once condensed, intelligible, and impressive. Accordingly, it is with propriety that the writer himself remarks in his Preface, that "he has studied accuracy in drawing his materials from the most approved sources, and has been ambitious of earning for himself only the negative merits of lucid arrangement and perspicuous statement." As to the main topics which the author has undertaken to discuss, we do not think he attaches to them undue importance. Accurate knowledge of the historical basis on which the Christian religion rests has always been attended with advantage in securing the faith of enlightened and inquisitive minds. In consequence of some recent controversies, there is more urgent need than formerly existed, that the community at large should be correctly informed concerning the time when the Gospel narratives were composed, the mode in which they were produced, the qualifications and aims of their respective authors, the causes to which the agreements, discrepancies, and other characteristics of the Evangelical records are to be attributed, and the various facts and circumstances which justify the persuasion that these writings have come down to us the same in all essential respects as they were at the period of their first publication. Here is presented a very interesting and important branch of the evidences of our religion ; and we agree with Mr. Miles in the opinion, not only that instruction on the above-mentioned points ought to be freely imparted to the young, but also that the prevailing neglect of this duty, so much to be lamented, is owing in a measure to "the want of a small book which may briefly and clearly present the information, now found only in professional, and, to most readers, inaccessible treatises." It seems to us, therefore, that he did well in attempting to prepare a "Manual" on the plan of the one before us, adapted especially "to the higher classes in our Sunday Schools," and at the same time "suitable for family and parish libraries." With the execution of the work — disregarding a

few defects and redundancies, and one or two seeming contradictions — we have been pleased. The book appears to us fitted, in general, to accomplish the desirable end which the writer had in view ; and we hope that it will have a circulation corresponding to its merits.

B.

The General Features of the Moral Government of God. By A. B. JACOBS, M. A. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 16mo. pp. 90.

THIS little volume is evidently the production of a vigorous mind, which has been accustomed to think for itself on most of the difficult points that present themselves to students while pursuing theological investigations. Its topics seem to us somewhat disproportionate in number and importance to the space which the author has allowed for their discussion, and some of its principles, reasonings, and inferences we are inclined to regard as at least doubtful. But the work is suggestive of desirable trains of thought ; and as it contains, at the same time, many valuable truths with few hurtful errors, and is written in a spirit at once free, liberal, and reverent, we commend it as worthy of being read.

B.

The Physiological Effects of Alcoholic Drinks, from the British and Foreign Medical Review of Dr. Forbes ; with Documents and Records of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, illustrating the Origin of the Temperance Reformation, and its Progress in the State of Massachusetts. Boston: Published by the Massachusetts Temperance Society. 1848. 12mo. pp. 196.

THE public is indebted, as we understand, to John C. Warren, M. D., President of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, for the preparation of this valuable book. Nearly one half of it is occupied with Dr. Forbes's scientific inquiry into the action of stimulating drinks on the human system. Concerning this essay, which was first published in England, we will only remark, that it is classed by competent judges among the ablest expositions of the subject that have appeared in our language. The interest, if not the usefulness, of the volume before us is greatly enhanced by "Documents and Records" — filling more than one hundred pages — which illustrate generally the origin and progress of the Temperance reformation in this Commonwealth, and which fur-

nish, particularly, an historical account of the circumstances that occasioned what Dr. Warren calls "the first permanent association which set out with combating systematically the abuse of spirituous liquors"; of the organization of this body at the State House in Boston, on the 5th of February, 1813; of its original principles and plans; of its operations during the twenty years that it retained its old name of "Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance"; of the changes it underwent in 1833, when it assumed a new title, — the one which it now bears; and of its subsequent efforts and success, till nearly the present time. Our readers will be pleased, we think, with seeing the names of the officers who first presided over the above-mentioned association, thirty-five years ago, and who had thus the honor of directing the earliest steps of that great Temperance revolution which in our day ranks among the leading movements of the civilized world. They are the following: — Hon. Samuel Dexter, Esq., President; Gen. John Brooks, Dr. John Warren, Hon. Benjamin Tuckerman, Vice-Presidents; Rev. Abiel Abbot, Corresponding Secretary; Rev. Joshua Huntington, Recording Secretary; Samuel H. Walley, Esq., Treasurer; Rev. Dr. Kirkland, Rev. Dr. Lathrop, Rev. Dr. Worcester, Rev. Mr. Pierce, Nathan Dane, Esq., Hon. Timothy Bigelow, Richard Sullivan, Esq., Jeremiah Evarts, Esq., Councillors. Only three of these gentlemen are now among the living on earth, viz., Hon. Messrs, Sullivan and Walley, and the venerable Dr. Pierce. B.

A History of Georgia from its First Discovery by Europeans to the Adoption of the Present Constitution, in MDCCXCVIII.
By REV. WILLIAM BACON STEVENS, M. D., Professor of Belles-Lettres, History, etc., in the University of Georgia, Athens.
In two Vols. New York and Savannah. 1847. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. 504.

WE learn from the Preface of this volume, that the work was undertaken by the author seven years since, at the request of the Georgia Historical Society, and that he has had their help in the collection of necessary documents. We cannot but infer, however, that his own qualifications for the task, if not, also, his having already undertaken it, may have induced the commission from the Society, for a good history is one of those many things that cannot be made to order. Mr. Stevens has had at his service the historical documents which were obtained in London by Rev. C. W. Howard, an agent appointed for that purpose by the legislature and governor of Georgia in 1837. There was no satisfactory history of that State in existence, though the work

had been designed and in part executed by four preceding laborers.

The volume before us is printed in a very handsome manner, and on fair, thick paper, and must fully meet the expectations of those who asked for and fostered its preparation. The author has availed himself of all the modern helps for elucidating the ante-colonial history of his present State, and has given a clear summary of the early voyages and travels of the adventurers upon our coast, with a sketch of the French and Spanish settlements, and of the aborigines in the territory of Georgia. Then follows the story of failures, struggles, and disasters, which attended the English colonization of that region, and which were largely aggravated by the mismanagement of the proprietary Trustees, who sent their commissions from their court in Great Britain. This volume brings the history of the colony down through its administration by the royal government under Governor Reynolds and Governor Ellis. The two chapters which will probably be read with the greatest interest by those who do not reside in the State are those upon "The Origin of Slave Labor in Georgia" and upon the "Religious History of the Colony." It appears that the famous preacher Whitefield was a prominent advocate of the introduction into Georgia of slave labor, which had been forbidden by the Trustees. He gave it as his opinion, that "Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed." Mr. Stevens mildly, but forcibly, vindicates the character of the Wesleys in their Georgian experiences and labors.

So far as our limited means of judgment will allow us to express an opinion, we think that Mr. Stevens has admirably and faithfully discharged his high trust. E.

A Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States, from New England to Wisconsin and South to Ohio and Pennsylvania, inclusive. (The Mosses and Liverworts by WM. S. SULLIVANT.) Arranged according to the Natural System; with an Introduction, containing a Reduction of the Genera to the Linnean Artificial Classes and Orders, Outlines of the Elements of Botany, a Glossary, etc. By ASA GRAY, M. D., Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University. Boston and Cambridge: J. Munroe & Co. 1848. 12mo. pp. lxiii. and 710.

EVERY intelligent botanist, in the section of country to which this work applies, will welcome its appearance. For its accuracy the name of its author is alone a sufficient assurance, while its table of contents shows it to be far more comprehensive than

any work which has yet been published, referring to the same region. We already have, it is true, an excellent and very popular work, adapted more particularly to this vicinity, but answering tolerably well for all New England; — it is based, however, upon a system for which the author himself claims only the merit of its being “more readily made available for the first steps in the identification of plants”; while he allows, that, “to those who cultivate botany extensively as a science, there can be no question that the Natural method is far more exact and satisfactory.”* The accuracy of its descriptions and its engaging character have long rendered this work a favorite, and many will doubtless half regret, with the writer of this, that the time has come when it must be superseded; but we cannot disguise from ourselves the fact, that a familiarity with the arrangement of plants by the Linnæan system affords but a slight insight into their true relationships and characteristics; and that analysis by this system, of itself, acquaints one with but little more than the names of plants. As a help to the use of the Natural system, it is valuable, — but, we think, to a very limited extent only; since botanists well versed in the Linnæan system may meet with more obstacles in the use of the Natural, than one who uses the former only as a clue to classification by the latter; for as this slight aid soon becomes unnecessary, the one has only to learn, while the other has, in addition, to unlearn.

Dr. Gray's Botany is based upon the Natural system; a system of which it is sufficient to say, that it requires in its pursuit an investigation of all the important particulars of plants, bringing into view, in the analysis of each individual, its connections with others in the most numerous and important points, its mode of growth, and even its history. One objection to it may, however, be offered; that it has, hitherto, been found difficult, if not impossible, for beginners to succeed in the analysis of plants by this method. To obviate this, as well as to provide for difficult cases, the author has inserted a synoptical view of the Linnæan artificial classes, with a reduction of all the plants described in his work to the classes and orders of the Linnæan system; by the former of which a plant may be readily traced to its class, and by the latter, referred to its order in both systems. The synoptical table is, by the way, the clearest exposition, at one view, of the arrangement of plants by the old system that we have ever seen. By these means, the path of the student has been made as easy as it is, perhaps, susceptible of being made; and sufficiently so to free the study of plants by this system from the objection to which we have alluded.

* Bigelow's *Florula Bostoniensis*. Preface to the third edition.

We have no doubt, therefore, that the book will become, not only a standard, but also a popular, work; and that a more thorough knowledge of this science than it has hitherto been easy to obtain will soon become common among us. We would advise beginners, however, to acquaint themselves, in the first place, with the "Botanical Text-Book," a work by the same author; from which they may obtain a complete knowledge of structural botany, in itself far the most valuable part of the science to those who do not desire to become practical botanists. They should then study the treatise on systematic botany contained in the same work, which will fully prepare them for analysis by the Natural system, though the present volume contains in its Introduction, in a condensed form, enough of the rudiments of the science to enable any one, with ordinary perseverance and ability, to succeed in analyzing by the proposed system. We would add one suggestion; that, in future editions, the author should insert in his index more of the English or common names of plants, which we think will greatly assist the young botanist in his early attempts at analysis.

W.

Memorial of the Sprague Family: a Poem recited at a Meeting in Duxbury of the Descendants and Connections of Hon. Seth Sprague, on the Occasion of his Eighty-sixth Birthday, July 4th, 1846. With the Family Genealogy and Biographical Sketches in Notes. By RICHARD SOULE, JR. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 191.

A Genealogical Register of George Abbot, of Andover, George Abbot, of Rowley, Thomas Abbot, of Andover, Arthur Abbot, of Ipswich, Robert Abbot, of Branford, Ct., and George Abbot, of Norwalk, Ct. Compiled by Rev. ABIEL ABBOT, D. D., and Rev. EPHRAIM ABBOT. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 197.

THE growing taste for genealogical researches among us at the present day, if continued, promises to leave no dark nook, whence materials for local history may be gathered, unexplored, and some facts, of which use may be made, will thus, no doubt, be rescued from oblivion. We are disposed, therefore, to look with favor on volumes like the two above named. The "Memorial," etc., is evidently the fruit of much patient inquiry, and we see no reason to doubt that it exhibits a faithful record of a most worthy family, true to its Puritan lineage. The "Register" of the Abbots is a far more elaborate work, more systematic and extended; it gives evidence of great carefulness of preparation, and contains a vast multitude of names and dates, interspersed with occasional brief

biographical notices. The name of Abbot has always been in honorable repute among us, and will suffer no discredit certainly from the present publication. L.

The British Female Poets: with Biographical and Critical Notices. BY GEORGE W. BETHUNE. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 490.

THIS beautiful volume, printed on the finest of paper and the fairest of type, appears to us to have been prepared with skill and taste. The selections from the writings of British female poets, beginning with Juliana Berners, "the first Englishwoman to whom has been ascribed any English rhyme," and closing with Miss Charlotte Young, whose "first volume has just appeared,"—including sixty names,—show not only extensive reading in this department of literature, but judicious discrimination and candid appreciation. More space is given to Mrs. Hemans than, we apprehend, would be allowed her by most judgments, ninety pages being filled from her works. The biographical notices, though brief, contain the essential facts in each case, and exhibit a commendable freedom from both religious and critical prejudice. G.

A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land; comprising Recollections, Sketches, and Reflections, made during a Tour in the East. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE, Member of the Provisional Government of France, etc. In two volumes. New York: Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 324, 314.

THIS work, as every one will recollect, produced some sensation, on its original publication, several years ago. It was favorably noticed, for its "poetical" spirit, its "eminently graphic" descriptions, and its "reflections, full of enthusiasm, of pathos, and of devotion," by the *Christian Examiner*, for January, 1836, in an article written by the late Rev. Dr. Greenwood, than whom on one was better qualified to appreciate its merits. The present position of the author, and his recent "*History of the Girondists*," will have the effect to revive an interest in the work, which has marked defects as well as striking excellences. L.

* * * THE most important work that has appeared since the publication of our last number, or for a long time previous,
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is the *Memoir of William Ellery Channing, with Extracts from his Correspondence and Manuscripts*, prepared by his nephew, W. H. CHANNING, in three volumes, 12mo. As our next number will contain an extended notice, we may only here remark, that ample compensation is given for the delay under which some persons had grown impatient, in the admirable manner in which his task has been executed by the compiler, whose delicacy and good judgment have caused the work to appear almost as an autobiography. — We are probably indebted to the resemblance between the title of our journal and that of an English periodical, for a copy of the *Crosby Hall Lectures on Education*, delivered under the direction of the "Congregational Board of Education." The volume consists of seven lectures prepared by different gentlemen, — Edward Baines, Jr., Esq., Rev. W. Hamilton, D. D., Rev. Andrew Reed, Edward Miall, Esq., etc., — on those aspects of "the Educational question" which have a special interest for the people of England at this time. — We have not forgotten the impression left on our minds, at the time of its first appearance, by Miss Brunton's *Self-Control*, of which we have now a reprint by Wilkins, Carter, & Co. (12mo. pp. 478), — a work entitled to rank in the better class of those writings of prose fiction, with which the lighter literature of the early part of the present century was enriched by female genius. — Among other works of general interest lately republished, we are pleased to see an edition, by Harper & Brothers (2 vols. 12mo. pp. 549, 565), of SISMONDI'S *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*. Translated from the Original, with Notes, and a Life of the Author, by THOMAS ROSCOE. — From Appleton & Co., of New York, we have received C. Julius Cæsar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War*. With English Notes, Critical and Explanatory, a Lexicon, Indexes, etc. By REV. J. A. SPENCER. (12mo. pp. 408.) The typographical execution is very neat, and the notes, indexes, etc., are sufficiently copious. — *The Constitutions of France, Monarchical and Republican; together with Brief Historical Remarks relating to their Origin, and the late Orleans Dynasty*. By BERNARD ROELKER, of the Boston Bar, (J. Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 156), will be found a convenient book of reference at the present time. — *The French Revolution of 1848; its Causes, Actors, Events, and Influences*. By G. G. FOSTER and THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH, (Philadelphia: Zieber & Co. 8vo. pp. 224), compiled in haste, may yet be found useful till a more elaborate work on the same subject can be prepared. — Among the juvenile books recently sent to us are *A Danish Story Book*, by HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN, (C. S. Francis & Co. 16mo. pp. 187), of whose "Story" of his

own life a brief notice was given by us a few months since; and another volume of "Chambers's Library for Young People" (reprinted by Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln). *Truth & Trust*, (16mo. pp. 144).

The Ancient and Honorable Man. A Discourse preached on the Occasion of the Death of Hon. John Quincy Adams, to the Unitarian Church and Congregation, Keene, N. H., on Sabbath Afternoon, March 5, 1848. By A. A. LIVERMORE. Keene. 1848. 12mo. pp. 19.

Conscience the Best Policy. A Fast-Day Sermon, preached on April 6, 1848. By JOHN WEISS, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, New Bedford. New Bedford. 1848. 12mo. pp. 16.

The Objects, Subjects, and Methods of the Ministry at Large. A Discourse, delivered before the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, in the Federal Street Meeting-house, April 9, 1848. By EZRA S. GANNETT. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 36.

A Discourse on the Immortality of the Soul, delivered at Harvard, Worcester Co., Mass., on Sunday, April 30, 1848. By HENRY B. PEARSON. Boston: W. B. Fowle. 1848. 8vo. pp. 31.

A Farewell Discourse, delivered to the Purchase Street Congregation, April 30, 1848, on Occasion of Leaving their Old Church. By J. I. T. COOLIDGE. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 8vo. pp. 18.

The Power of Christianity. A Discourse preached at the Dedication of the House of the Thirteenth Congregational Church, in Harrison Avenue, Boston, May 3, 1848. By J. I. T. COOLIDGE. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 8vo. pp. 27.

Circumstances affecting Individual and Public Health. A Lecture Delivered before Suffolk Lodge, No. 8, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, on Tuesday Evening, April 11, 1848. By CHARLES E. BUCKINGHAM, M. D. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 31.

A Discourse on the Life, Character, and Public Services of James Kent, late Chancellor of the State of New York; delivered, by Request, before the Judiciary and Bar of the City and State of New York, April 12, 1848. By JOHN DUER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1848. 8vo. pp. 86.

A Funeral Oration, occasioned by the Death of Thomas Cole. Delivered before the National Academy of Design, New York, May 4, 1848. By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1848. 8vo. pp. 42.

An Address, delivered before the American Peace Society, Boston, May, 1848. By ORVILLE DEWEY. Boston: Published by the American Peace Society. 1848. 8vo. pp. 17.

MR. LIVERMORE'S Discourse did not reach us in time to be noticed along with others called forth by the death of Mr. Adams. In common with them, it points to the great lessons taught by his life, — lessons, we doubt not, dwelt upon, and we hope not without effect, in many unpublished sermons throughout the land. — Mr. Weiss always writes with strength and gives the fruits of fresh and original thought, and it is enough to say, that his Fast-day sermon is what we should expect from the man and the occasion. — Whether or not Mr. Pearson has succeeded in proving that the doctrine of immortality was not taught before the time of Plato, and so "came not to mankind by intuition," his discourse, combining, as it does, Christian sentiment with chaste classical beauty, may be read with both pleasure and profit. — Mr. Coolidge's Farewell Discourse contains a simple recital of the short history of his society during the period of its worship in the edifice it was about to leave, with some natural and appropriate reflections. His Dedication Discourse is in a higher strain, more elaborate, illustrating his theme — "the Power of Christianity" — with no little force, and in a spirit deeply penetrated with his subject.

Dr. Buckingham, in his Lecture on "Individual and Public Health," presents a somewhat sad picture of some of the causes which, as he thinks, will operate to produce future disease in parts of our city. We commend the subject to philanthropists, and to those especially whose official duty it is to look after these matters. — The Discourse on the "Life, Character, and Public Services" of the late Chancellor Kent, and the "Funeral Oration, occasioned by the death of Thomas Cole," the former by Hon. John Duer, the latter by the poet Bryant, are both performances of great merit, bringing the individuals — the eminent jurist and the delightful painter — distinctly before us, tracing the dawn, growth, and maturity of their genius, without labored eulogy making their worth conspicuous, awakening our reverence, elevating our imagination, and leaving our minds in possession of sentiments and images connected with the good and beautiful which cannot be soon effaced. Our funeral, or panegyrical, literature has become rich of late. — Dr. Dewey's Address contains, along with some statements of a startling nature on the destructiveness of war, much very forcible reasoning, and passages of a lofty, stirring eloquence. If there is any want of method, or, as the writer himself expresses it, of "orderly manner," in the discourse, we find ample compensation for the defect in the strength and manliness of thought and the great fervor which mark the performance.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — Rev. Mr. Smith, according to notice given to his people some time ago, has retired from the ministry of the New North church in this city. Rev. Dr. Parkman, the senior pastor of the same church, has relinquished the care of the pulpit, and expressed his readiness to withdraw entirely from the ministerial relation which he has so long sustained. We learn that the congregation are making successful endeavours to increase their strength, which has been greatly reduced by the death, and removal from the city, of former members. — Rev. Mr. Thomas has resigned his connection with the Broadway Unitarian society in South Boston. — Rev. Mr. Cutler has resigned his office as pastor of the church in Peterboro', N. H. — Rev. Mr. Parkman of Dover, N. H., and Rev. Mr. Hedge of Bangor, Me., have returned from Europe, and resumed their parochial duties. — Rev. Charles Brooks has engaged to spend the summer with the society lately formed in East Thomaston, Me. — Rev. Mr. Tenney, formerly of Kennebunk, has been, and will remain, for some time, with the society at Upton.

In Winchendon, and in Palmer, Unitarian congregations have been gathered. — A society in New Bedford, hitherto connected with the Christian denomination, has transferred its ecclesiastical relations to the Unitarian body. — The society in Albany, N. Y., disappointed in their hope of securing the future services of Rev. Mr. Pope of Kingston, still desire to obtain a permanent minister. — A liberal subscription among the members of the Harvard church in Charlestown has enabled them at once to proceed to the erection of a chapel for the ministry-at-large in that town, of which Rev. Mr. Folsom is the incumbent.

Several changes have taken place in the pulpits of other denominations than our own in this city. — Rev. Austin Phelps has exchanged the care of the Pine Street Congregational church, for the Bartlett Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric in the Theological Seminary at Andover. — Rev. Silas Aiken has resigned his connection with the Park Street society. — Rev. E. H. Chapin has relinquished his connection with the Universalist society in School street, and taken charge of a congregation in the city of New York. Rev. A. A. Miner, late of Lowell, has been installed as his successor here. — Rev. Pharellus Church, D. D., of Rochester, N. Y., has accepted an invitation from the Bowdoin Square Baptist church, of which Rev. Mr. Cushman was the late pastor. — We learn with sincere regret that Rev. Baron Stow, D. D., has been compelled by continued ill health to ask a dismissal from the parochial charge of the Baldwin Place Baptist church; which his people, however, still entertaining the hope that he may be restored to health, are unwilling to grant.

The Anniversaries. — The Anniversary week passed off this year pleasantly, but with no special marks of interest. The number of persons brought into the city by the celebrations of the different societies

was, perhaps, rather larger than usual. Most of the meetings which we were able to attend, or of which we have heard from others, were such as would satisfy moderate, and disappoint high expectations. The public meeting of the American Unitarian Association might, indeed, be excepted from this remark, as Dr. Dewey's Address was one of rare excellence; and whatever preference any may have felt for a different mode of celebrating this anniversary, they must have rejoiced that in the present instance a departure from the usual method gave opportunity for the delivery of such a discourse. The discussions in the Ministerial Conference turned upon the question of Supernaturalism, and its kindred topics; and though sustained with ability, were less profitable than they might have been made. The morning Prayer and Conference meetings appear to have given the most unmingled satisfaction. The subject which it was thought might call forth an unpleasant debate in the Convention of Congregational Ministers was disposed of harmoniously. On the whole, we believe that the week was fruitful in many influences of a good, and in scarcely any of a questionable character. We shall attempt to give only a brief summary of those proceedings in which our readers may be presumed to take most interest.

Book and Pamphlet Society.—*Massachusetts Bible Society.*—*American Peace Society.*—On Sunday evening, May 28, 1848, a sermon was preached before the Book and Pamphlet Society, in the Federal street meeting-house, by Rev. George W. Briggs of Plymouth, from 2 Corinthians iv. 13, on faith as the great impelling principle of utterance and action. The audience was by no means small; but the operations of this Society, though highly useful, are so unobtrusive, that its meetings do not attract general attention.—On Monday afternoon, the Massachusetts Bible Society held its meeting for business, and afterwards a public meeting in the Winter street church. At the latter, addresses were made by the Rev. Messrs. Huntington, Neale, Waterbury, and Woart, of this city,—ministers of four different denominations. Arrangements were made to give this Society a more efficient action, especially through the coöperation of young men.—On Monday evening, the American Peace Society celebrated its anniversary in the Winter street church, by a very able discourse from Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., of New York, in which he examined several of the most important questions connected with the subject of War.

American Unitarian Association.—The twenty-third anniversary of this institution was celebrated on Tuesday, May 30. The meeting for business was held during the morning in the chapel of the church in Bedford street. The President having called the meeting to order, prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston. The record of the last year's meetings having been read, the Treasurer's report was presented and accepted; from which it appeared that the receipts of the year had been \$9,569.75, and the expenditures, \$9,110.75. The Report of the Executive Committee was deferred, to be read at the public meeting in the evening. Thanks were voted for the exertions which the chairman of the sub-committee on finance had successfully made for procuring a subscription of three thousand dollars, to cancel

the debt of the Association. The officers of the Association for the ensuing year were chosen by ballot, upon the nomination of a committee appointed for that purpose. Some of the members of the Executive Committee having declined a reelection, the ballot resulted in the choice of Rev. Ezra S. Gannett of Boston, *President*; Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop and Hon. Stephen Fairbanks of Boston, *Vice-Presidents*; Rev. Frederic W. Holland of Boston, *Secretary*; Henry P. Fairbanks, Esq., of Charlestown, *Treasurer*; Rev. James W. Thompson of Salem, Isaiah Bangs, Esq., of Cambridge, Hon. Albert Fearing of Boston, Rev. Alonzo Hill of Worcester, Rev. Charles Brooks of Boston, *Directors*. Thanks were voted to Rev. Frederic D. Huntington, Rev. Ephraim Peabody, and Lewis G. Pray; Esq., for their services as Directors the last year. An amendment of the By-laws, constituting members of auxiliaries members of this Association, and requiring the payment of the annual subscription before the 1st of May in each year, was adopted. Suggestions were made, and motions offered, which caused discussion, but were either rejected or indefinitely postponed. The Executive Committee were instructed to invite the auxiliaries to send delegates to future meetings of the Association. The action of the Executive Committee in reference to the appointment of Secretary and the duties of his office, was approved. At 1 o'clock, the meeting was adjourned to the evening.

The anniversary of the Association was publicly celebrated on Tuesday evening, in the Federal Street meeting-house. Prayer having been offered by Rev. Mr. Corder of Montreal, the Annual Report was read by the Secretary, and was accepted by vote. Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., of New York, then delivered an Address, of which, as it appears in this number of our journal, we need say nothing, except that both its subject and its merits entitle it to the most careful perusal.

Collation.—The Collation which the Unitarian laymen of Boston provide for their friends on the Tuesday of Anniversary week was this year spread in Assembly Hall, over the former dépôt of the Old Colony Railroad, in Albany street. This is by far the best apartment that has ever been chosen for the purpose. The hall used the last two years was found to be too large to yield satisfaction. The speakers could not be heard through its great extent, while the ante-rooms and the access to the main apartment were less convenient than were afforded in the present instance. At 2 o'clock, the company, consisting of between eight and nine hundred of both sexes, and including both clergymen and laymen, began to occupy their seats at the tables. Charles G. Loring, Esq., of Boston, presided. Eben Dale, Esq., made a few observations in the name of the Committee of Arrangements. The Divine blessing was implored by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston, and after the wants of the appetite were satisfied, thanks were returned by Rev. Mr. Bartol of Boston. The Chairman then gracefully welcomed the guests of the occasion to the pleasures of the afternoon, and, with a few remarks of his own on the catholicity and freedom which distinguish our faith, invited others to address the company. An original hymn having been sung by the company, led by a band of musicians, Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline offered some remarks, and was followed

by R. v. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth, Lieut. Gov. Read of Yarmouth, B. T. Congdon, Esq., of New Bedford, Rev. Mr. Fisher of Boston, and Rev. Henry Giles. A letter was then read from Hon. William Cranch of Washington, written in reply to an invitation to be present at the collation; another hymn, selected for the occasion, was sung; and remarks were made by Rev. Mr. Palfrey of Belfast, Me., Rev. Mr. Brooks of Boston, Rev. Mr. Robbins of Chelsea, Rev. Dr. Parkman, and Rev. Mr. Waterston, of Boston, Rev. Mr. Deane, of the Christian Connection, from Ohio, Moses Grant, Esq., and Rev. Mr. Holland, of Boston. A letter from Hon. John G. Palfrey, in reply to an invitation extended to him by the Committee of Arrangements, was read; another original hymn was sung; remarks were offered by Rev. Mr. Huntoon of Canton; thanks were voted for the use of the hall, which had been generously granted by the Proprietors; the Committee who had made such pleasant arrangements for this occasion were requested to perform a similar service the next year; some closing words were spoken by the Chairman; the usual doxology was sung; and the company dispersed at 6 o'clock.

Ministerial Conference. — The Conference met at 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning, May 31, in the chapel in Bedford street. Prayer having been offered by Rev. Mr. Morse of Tyngsboro', the Annual Address was delivered by Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop of Boston, on the discouragements and duties that belong to our ministry at the present time. Rev. Joseph Richardson of Hingham was chosen *Moderator* of the Conference for the present year, Rev. Frederic D. Huntington of Boston, *Scribe*, and Rev. Messrs. Ellis of Charlestown, Clarke of Boston, and Osgood of Providence, R. I., *Standing Committee*. The thanks of the Conference were returned to Mr. Lothrop for his Address. On motion of Rev. J. F. Clarke, preachers of the Christian Connection present were invited to take part in the discussions of the Conference. Similar motions in regard to clergymen of other denominations, having given rise to some debate, were laid on the table. On motion of Rev. Charles Brooks, Messrs. Brooks, Harding, and Holland were appointed a Committee to consider the expediency of raising a fund for the relief of aged and destitute ministers. Several subjects were presented for discussion by the Standing Committee, from which the Conference selected the following: — "How may our clergy best obviate the dangers that threaten to harm their influence and limit their usefulness?" Rev. W. H. Channing spoke at some length upon topics suggested by this question, and was followed by Rev. Messrs. Parker of Boston, Judd of Augusta, Me., and Osgood of Providence, R. I. The Conference then adjourned to the afternoon.

At 3 o'clock the Conference again met, and after some remarks, on pastoral duty, by Rev. Mr. Sanger of Dover, and the reading of a letter on the same subject, the discussion of the morning was resumed, and continued by Rev. Mr. Sullivan of Boston, and Rev. Dr. Dewey of New York. Elder McKinney, of the Christian Connection, from Indiana, made some observations in regard to the body which he represented. An adjournment then took place, to the next morning.

On Thursday morning, at 9 o'clock, the Conference having met, Rev. W. H. Channing, after moving that the subject which had been under discussion be laid on the table, offered the following resolution: —

"That, in fulfilment of the purposes of the body of ministers of this Commonwealth, who, agreeing in liberal and catholic views of Christianity, formed in 1820 the Berry Street Conference, with the avowed end of diffusing practical religion and the spirit of Christianity, a Committee be appointed to inquire whether some plan cannot be adopted by this Conference for promoting a larger unity, in spirit, truth, and deed, among Christians."

Mr. Channing presented his views on the grounds of Christian fellowship, and was followed by Rev. J. N. Bellows, Rev. J. F. Clarke, Rev. Dr. Dewey, Rev. Theodore Parker, Rev. Mr. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H., Rev. Professor Noyes of Cambridge, and Rev. Mr. Greene of South Brookfield. The Conference then adjourned to the afternoon.

At 3 o'clock the Conference resumed the discussion interrupted by the adjournment. Remarks were offered by Rev. Messrs. Crafts of East Bridgewater, and Higginson of Newburyport. The resolution was then adopted, and the Committee appointed, viz. Rev. Messrs. Channing, Gannett, Clarke, Osgood, Huntington, Stone of Salem, and Lamson. Rev. Mr. Hedge of Bangor, Me., who had just returned from Europe, made some interesting remarks upon the position of the Catholic and Protestant churches. Rev. Mr. Dall of Needham offered some remarks, and the Conference finally adjourned till the next annual meeting.

Sunday School Society. — The anniversary of this Association was celebrated by a public meeting, in the Federal Street meeting-house, on Wednesday evening, May 31; Hon. S. C. Phillips, President, in the chair. Prayer having been offered by Rev. Mr. Brooks, of Newport, R. I., the Annual Report was read by the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Charles Brooks. It animadverted on the undue attention bestowed, by our common methods of education, upon the intellect, to the neglect of the moral nature, — urged considerations of duty on different classes of persons, — and exhibited the operations of the Society during the last year. Addresses were then made, on topics suggested by the Report, by Rev. Messrs. Palfrey of Belfast, Me., Osgood of Providence, R. I., Fuller of Manchester, N. H., Dorr of Lexington, Waterston of Boston, and Dall of Needham, and by the President of the Society. Hymns were sung, in the course of the evening, by a choir of children; and the meeting was closed with the Doxology, and a benediction by Rev. Mr. Allen of Northboro'.

Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers. — This body, venerable in age and in character, assembled in one of the rooms of the Court House, in Boston, on Wednesday afternoon, May 31. After prayer by the Moderator, the record of the last meeting having been read, the usual reading of the Rules of the Convention was dispensed with. Rev. Mr. Adams, of Boston, was reelected *Scribe*, and Rev. Mr. Lothrop, of Boston, by a unanimous vote, was reelected *Treasurer*. Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Braintree, was appointed *Auditor*. The regular business of the Convention in relation to the distribution of its charities was transacted. The Committee appointed last year, on the relations and rights of the Orthodox and the Unitarian members of the Convention, and of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, offered, through their chairman, a Report, in which, after a brief review

of the history of the two institutions, certain suggestions were made, but no definitive action was proposed. A minority Report was presented by Rev. Mr. Ellis of Charlestown, in his own name and that of two other members of the committee, — differing in some points, though not essentially, from the Report which had just been read. A discussion arose, conducted in an amicable spirit, which ended in the Convention's accepting the Report of the committee, and directing the Report of the minority to be put upon file. A letter was received from Rev. Dr. Ide of Medway, declining the appointment of Preacher, which had been conferred on him the last year, on account of ill health. It became necessary, therefore, to make choice of both a First and Second Preacher for the next year ; but, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, it was deferred to the adjourned meeting of the next day.

On Thursday morning, the Convention having reassembled, Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D., of Boston, was chosen First Preacher, and Rev. Edwards A. Park, D. D., of Andover, Second Preacher, for the next year, each of them by an almost unanimous vote. Dr. Adams having in consequence resigned his office as Scribe of the Convention, Rev. A. C. Thompson, of Roxbury, was chosen his successor. Rev. Dr. Lowell, of Boston, offered a resolution, with a preamble, for the appointment of a Committee to prepare, and present the next year, a Report on the history of Slavery in the United States, and the duties of the Free States in regard to it, with an appeal to the community on the subject. After some discussion, the resolution was adopted, and a Committee of nine was appointed, consisting of Rev. Drs. Lowell of Boston, Hitchcock of Randolph, Storrs of Braintree, Worcester of Salem, Messrs. Hill of Worcester, Thompson of Salem, Briggs of Plymouth, Childs of Lowell, and Lothrop of Boston.

At 11 o'clock, the annual sermon was preached before the Convention, in the Brattle street meeting-house, by Rev. Ezra S. Gannett of Boston, from 1 Timothy iv. 2, on the relation of the pulpit to present and future times. A collection was taken for the benefit of the widows and children of deceased ministers, amounting to \$177.83.

Devotional Meetings. — On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday mornings of the Anniversary week, meetings for *Prayer and Conference* were held at half past seven o'clock, and continued for one or two hours. On Tuesday morning, the meeting was opened in the chapel in Bedford street ; but it soon became necessary, in consequence of the number present, to go into the church. Voluntary singing, prayer by Rev. Mr. Stone of Salem, and addresses by Rev. Messrs. Brooks of Boston, Whitman of East Bridgewater, and Stone of Salem, Amasa Walker, Esq. of Brookfield, Rev. Messrs. Winkley of Boston, and Elders McKinney of Indiana, and Dean of Ohio, rendered the meeting equally pleasant and profitable. On Wednesday morning, the meeting was held at the church of the Disciples in Freeman place. Prayers were offered, in the course of the exercises, by Rev. Messrs. Bartol of Boston, Dean of Ohio, and Merrick of Walpole ; and, with occasional singing, addresses were made by Mr. G. G. Channing of Boston, Rev. Messrs. Muzzey of Cambridge, Dean, Bartol, Hall of Providence, R. I., Mr. G. W. Warren of Boston, Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth, and

Messrs. Hervey, and Clarke. On Thursday morning, a still larger number of persons than on either of the previous mornings assembled in the Bulfinch street church. After singing, and prayer by Rev. Mr. Palfrey of Belfast, Me., addresses were made by Albert Fearing, Esq., of Boston, Rev. J. N. Bellows, B. T. Congdon, Esq. of New Bedford, Rev. Messrs. Fuller of Manchester, N. H., Dean of Ohio, Stacy of Milford, Holland, and Thomas, of Boston. The meeting was closed with a final benediction, implored by Rev. Mr. Stone of Providence, R. I.

On Thursday evening, June 1, the institution of the *Lord's Supper* was celebrated in the Federal Street meeting-house. After a sermon by Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem, from Matthew xxviii. 20, the ordinance was administered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I. The floor of the house was insufficient to accommodate the great body of communicants.

Convention of the Christian Connection.—This Convention met in the church on Summer and Sea streets, Boston, May 30, 1848, and was organized by appointing Rev. J. Lincoln of Lynn, *President*, and Rev. Alexander Averill of Portsmouth, *Secretary*. From thirty to fifty ministers were in attendance. The discussions of the Convention were chiefly confined to the benevolent operations in which the ministers and churches in New England are engaged, and to such measures as appertain to the prosperity of the body. Great harmony of feeling and unity of purpose prevailed. The Sabbath Schools of New England and the Western Missions were very interestingly represented. And in the various discussions and reports, it appeared, that, though the denomination had been stationary for some two or three years past, there were evident signs, in various quarters, of prosperity. From central New York, not long since, Rev. A. Staunton, Secretary of one of the five Conferences in that State, wrote, that the prospects of the denomination within the range of his acquaintance are as good as those of any denomination around; that his Conference numbers, at least, fifty churches, averaging, at least, fifty members,—making twenty-five hundred, with twice that number of regular attendants on the ministry. There are in that single State four other Conferences besides the one whose prosperity he reports. Though the Convention was composed chiefly of ministers living in New England, there were individuals present from different States, who, together with those residing in New England, showed a general conviction, that the Christian denomination, at the present time, is increasing in strength and manifesting new ability.

* * * The *Evangelical Missionary Society*, the *Congregational Charitable Society*, the *Society for Propagating the Gospel*, etc., and other benevolent associations, held their private meetings for the transaction of business, as usual. The public meetings of the *Temperance*, the *Anti-slavery*, the *Colonization*, and other philanthropic societies, were conducted as usual. The *Prison Discipline Society*, this year, held no public meeting. The anniversaries observed at this period of the year by the Trinitarian Congregationalists, the Baptists, and the Universalists, were well attended. The Episcopalian anniversaries, celebrated in this city, occur in June.

Dedication.—The meeting-house erected on Harrison Avenue, Boston, Mass., by the Thirteenth Congregational Church (formerly the Purchase Street Congregation), was dedicated May 3, 1848. The Sermon was preached by the pastor, Rev. Mr. Coolidge, from 1 Corinthians iv. 20; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Bartol of Boston; and the other services were conducted by Messrs. Gannett of Boston, Reynolds of Roxbury, and Huntington of Boston.

Ordinations and Installations.—Rev. MARTIN WYMAN WILLIS, late of Walpole, N. H., was installed over the First Congregational Society in PETERSHAM, Mass., on Sunday, May 28, 1848. The usual mode of Installation was avoided, no Council having been called, nor other settled ministers invited to take part in the services. Mr. Willis preached the sermon, and addressed the people upon their duties; Rev. Mr. Willson, formerly pastor of the church, and now a resident in the town, made a prayer, and read the Scriptures. William Parkhurst, M. D., one of the society, charged the pastor, in behalf of the people, and pronounced him installed.

Rev. RUFUS HENRY BACON, a graduate of the last class from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as pastor of the First Unitarian Church in ROCHESTER, N. Y., June 7, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, from 2 Corinthians ii. 16; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Hosmer of Buffalo, N. Y.; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Barrett of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Buckingham of Trenton, N. Y.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Holland of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. May of Syracuse, N. Y., and Barrett of Boston.

Rev. J. B. WILLARD, of Harvard, was ordained over the First Congregational Church and Society in WESTFORD, Mass., June 14, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gilbert of Harvard, from John xviii. 37; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Abbot of Westford; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H.; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Bartol of Lancaster; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Smith of Groton; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Chandler of Shirley, Babbidge of Pepperell, and White of Littleton.

Rev. EPHRAIM NUTE, late of Petersham, was installed as Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in SCITUATE, Mass. (as successor to Rev. E. Q. Sewall), June 21, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Greene of Brookfield, from John i. 1—3; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Stearns of Hingham; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Pope of Kingston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. McIntyre, Pope of Kingston, and Osgood of Cohasset.

Errata.—In the article on the Piscataqua Association of Ministers, in the last number of the Examiner, p. 411, line 20, for "Paul" read "Joseph"; and in lines 20 and 21, *dele* "a Harvard graduate of 1775."

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

SEPTEMBER, 1848.

ART. I. — AMUSEMENTS.*

WE have read Mr. Sawyer's "Plea for Amusements" with much satisfaction, and we shall be glad if our brief notice of some of the topics of which it treats should recommend it to the attention of others. Its purpose is to vindicate amusements from the common prejudices that prevail in respect to them, and to show their legitimate place in a rightly ordered life. The views of the author seem to us to be characterized alike by good sense and Christian feeling, and they are likely to have more weight with many from the fact, — at least we so understand, — that in his religious opinions his sympathies are with those who have commonly looked with most distrust on those pleasures which are classed under the general name of amusements.

New England Christianity has been severe and stern. Its frown has done much to scare away the lighter graces and pleasures of life. It allows of raptures and excitements, — if they are religious. It is slow to recognize the propriety of any pleasures but those which it terms sacred. It delights in "Old Hundred," acquiesces in an oratorio, but regards an opera as a device of the Adversary. It permits young people to walk together, but, if the walk quickens into a dance, professing Christians have very commonly thought it necessary to be shocked. The tendency has

* *A Plea for Amusements.* By FREDERIC W. SAWYER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 320.

been to decry amusements, as at least perilous to the soul, if not positively wrong. The more strict have regarded them with apprehension, and the less rigid have felt that they were, at the best, to be apologized for and defended.

Of course, no one will maintain the propriety of any class of amusements, or of any mode of participating in those which are least objectionable, the final result of which, on the whole, is to deaden the conscience, or to unfit one for the more serious duties of life. We are no more disposed to defend the abuses of amusements than the abuses of business.

But having made this qualification, we are free to say that we consider the estimate commonly put on amusements by religious people as entirely unwarranted. It seems to us a mere prejudice, unauthorized both by conscience and revelation, and in conflict with the primary laws of man's nature. In our view, amusements, under the plan of Providence, form an essential part of the great system of influences by which human faculties are trained, and are as indispensable as labor to the healthy development and growth of body and mind and heart. So far from apologizing for them as useless at the best, of questionable innocence, and inconsistent with our higher ideas of virtue and piety, we believe them, in their place, to be useful to all, and absolutely necessary to the young. The ascetic spirit is as unfavorable to morals and religion as to human happiness.

We go further, and say that a sufficient reason for participating in them is that they give pleasure. To the calculating question, put in doleful tones, Of what use are they? we answer, their use is that they give enjoyment, and this is enough. If it be further asked, whether the time could not be more profitably spent, we answer, probably not. In its due proportion, we know of no better way of spending time than in enjoying what God has given to be enjoyed. Our Maker has created us with keen sensibilities to pleasure and provided us with the means of gratifying them, and it is proper, in subjection to the Divine law, to use these means for the purpose for which they were intended. We see no reason for supposing that the Infinite Goodness does not regard with as much approbation the hours which men spend in innocent social pleasures, as those which are employed in accumulating property, or in advancing one's ambitious ends. Doubtless there are many who carry amuse-

ment to excess; but among a people so engrossed and occupied as ours, the far greater danger is that they will suffer from the want of them.

The author of the volume before us has presented in a striking light some of the prominent facts in the history of asceticism. It is no new thing to regard religion as inconsistent with the lighter pleasures of life. According to him, the first sect of religionists whose principles were hostile to the rational enjoyment of the pleasures and amusements of the world was that of the Pharisees. With them, fasts and forms and long prayers and ostentatious self-impositions were deemed essential as the means of securing the Divine favor. They were shocked by the lax practice of our Saviour. They were careful to take note of his ways, and charged him with being "gluttonous and a wine-bibber."

But above all other times, asceticism triumphed during the Dark Ages. It established the system of self-inflicted penances. It built the monastery and nunnery. It taught that a man's hopes of heaven grew bright very much in proportion as he made himself uncomfortable on earth. The ideal Christian, to be venerated by men and loved of God as a saint, was one who watched by night and scourged himself by day, who, entombed in a cell and mumbling prayers, in poverty and dirt, dragged out a useless and wretched existence. It deemed it a duty to be unsocial and to deny the natural affections. No system could have been devised better fitted to make men cruel and merciless. The natural amusement of asceticism was to torture and burn those who were hated, and its legitimate offspring was the Inquisition. And then, and now, such exaltation of artificial virtues and creation of artificial sins have been at the expense of the real virtue and piety of society.

In remarkable contrast with this are the instructions of the Scriptures. In the Mosaic Law, the appointed days of feasting were many, and of fasting, few. On their three great festivals the Jews were taught to meet together. They offered sacrifices, and feasted, and with songs and music and dances rejoiced before God. Taking into account the change of circumstances in other respects and their special objects, these festivals bore much resemblance to our Thanksgiving and Christmas days. If we come down to a later period, we find that our Saviour prescribed no fasts or penances. He took great pains to prevent the substitution of

artificial, outside virtues in the place of those which were real. As if to show in the most impressive manner that true religion is in harmony with all innocent pleasures, his first miracle was with the express purpose of promoting the festivities of a marriage feast. He did on that occasion what multitudes would be more shocked by now, if repeated by a professing Christian, than if they were to see one in an indirect way break half the commands of the decalogue.

We look on amusements as necessary to man. They certainly are so to the young. The love of them, so long as it is kept under proper restraint, is no more to be suppressed than the love of study. God has made the child, for wise purposes, to have a strong craving for social pleasure. It dreads to be alone. It rejoices in bodily activity, and in the indulgence of animal spirits. A child that seeks solitude and quiet, and is indisposed to join in the plays of its companions, is to be watched. It is, probably, either bodily or mentally diseased. And even when this solitary disposition is associated with a tendency to religious contemplation, it is not less the sign of disease. Instead of rejoicing over it, the parent may fear lest it be only the symptom of a too delicate organization, and, it may be, of premature death. If the disposition be indulged, the child, though mild, amiable, and shrinking from conflict, is very likely to become egotistical and selfish.

In the plan of Providence, amusements occupy a very important place in the moral culture of the child. In its plays, its social nature is awakened, its affections are called out, and it passes through a perpetual moral discipline suited to its age and faculties. More than anywhere else, it is here that its habits of self-control, of disinterestedness and truth and justice, are determined and fixed. If compelled to choose between them, we should think the advantage greater to a child of having for playmates those who were good-tempered, generous, truthful, pure-minded, than to have such a person for a teacher. Those in the habit of observing children will, we think, agree, that very often the most important part of their moral education is going on, unconsciously to themselves, while they are engaged in their sports with their companions.

What is true of childhood is scarcely less true of youth; and those of maturest years, who are occupied with the most engrossing cares and burdened by the heaviest responsi-

bilities, feel the need of systematic relaxation and amusement in order that the mind may preserve its elasticity and freshness. Amusements are needed by all. They interrupt the monotonous round of toil for gain and distinction. They smooth away asperities, and bring together the members of society in varied and pleasant relations. They promote cordiality and refinement of manners, while sympathy in common pleasures calls forth the social feelings in healthful ways. And we do not see why they have not as many affinities with religion as the common employments and ends of life. It would seem as if one might as reasonably and naturally give thanks to God for the pleasures he has enjoyed as for his worldly prosperity. For aught we can see, the state of mind fostered by the reasonable enjoyment of amusements is as favorable to religion as that which comes out of the ordinary haunts of money-making. Could they be altogether banished, it would not be to the gain of morals and piety. The only probable result would be, that men would yield more than now to the steady, uninterrupted despotism of the sordid and unsocial passions.

Doubtless, amusements are liable to great abuse. But the tendency to abuse has been greatly increased by the way in which they have been put under the ban of religion. The common feeling requires that a young person who thinks seriously of a religious life should, as the first step, desert every place of amusement. If it be with a solemn face, he may go on eagerly grasping and hoarding, almost unblamed; but to join in a dance would, in many cases, subject him to being brought up for admonition before the church. Thus all amusements come to be associated with irreligion. Many of those who participate in them do it with a doubtful conscience, and, with this feeling, what in itself is innocent becomes to them the source of moral harm. And what is worse, having once made up their minds to indulge in what they are taught to believe is wrong, they palter with their consciences, and stifle their religious convictions, and practise unworthy concealments, and rush unrestrained into excesses, and convert what rightly enjoyed would have been healthful into moral poison. The tendency to excess under the present state of things deserves great consideration.

"Our opportunities for social enjoyment are [occur] so seldom," says Mr. Sawyer, "that the temptation to prolong them

to a late hour is not to be wondered at. The very fact that we do so prolong them, under our system, shows that we crave more amusements than we get; and hence sleep, and rest, and, perhaps, parental favor, are often sacrificed to secure as much as possible of them while they are within our reach. That only shows that the appetite for amusement is like the natural appetite; if it is denied its reasonable gratification at one time, it will gorge itself to repletion at another, when opportunity offers.

"The present system of popular amusements is one that is designed to crowd the enjoyments that properly should be distributed through weeks and months, into a single day or evening. In many, if not in most, of our quiet New England villages, the prejudice of the religious portion of the inhabitants is so great against dancing, that it is seldom or never tolerated at private parties or in the family circle. The inextinguishable love of that amusement is generally so great among the young folks of those places, that it usually finds vent, during the season, in two or three public balls. As the period for one of those assemblies approaches, the little village is thrown into an unusual state of excitement. The young men hold nightly caucuses, for weeks together, to determine upon and settle all the preliminaries of the great event. While this miniature parliament is holding its nightly sessions, and burdened with internal dissensions about the best mode of overcoming the scruples of numerous stern parents, who object to letting their daughters participate in such amusements, and while they are canvassing for managers, the female portion of the village are in a perfect fever of excitement. All are on tiptoe to know who are going, and what the minister and the deacon have determined to do about letting their children go, if any one should be so daring as to invite them. Weeks and weeks are spent in thus exciting the whole village, before the parents of many of the young persons can be induced to consent to let them participate in the amusement. At length the labors of the young people are crowned with success; the parents' consent has been granted 'for this once,' and their enjoyments have commenced.

"Now what can those parents expect of young persons who have got together for enjoyment, after so much labor, toil, and trouble? Do they expect that they will dance an hour or two, in a quiet, healthy manner, and then severally retire to their homes satisfied? No! they cannot expect any such thing, if they have *any* knowledge of human nature. For parents to talk of an amusement being continued to an unreasonable hour, where it is got up under such circumstances, is preposterous. They have no right to expect any thing else than that each one will endeavour to secure all of the enjoyment that he can from the diversion, *while he can*. You might as well expect a thirsty traveller,

in a desert, to drink sparingly, when he is not only incited by previous abstinence, but by fears of scarcity for the future. They come home worn out with excessive indulgence, and the next day, perhaps, they are feverish and stupid, and their parents, forthwith, denounce dancing; but there is no more reason in doing it than for them to denounce food, if they should keep the same persons hungry for weeks and months, and then send them off, alone, to a well-loaded table, to indulge without check or hindrance, and should afterwards find them sick with over-indulgence. In both cases, there is an effort of nature to restore herself to her natural state, and claim her own.

“Now suppose the parents of those young people had looked upon dancing as an amusement that was well enough, if pursued at proper hours and in a proper manner, and had taken a rational view of it. They would have seen that their children would have the amusement in some manner, and, instead of undertaking, under such circumstances, to oppose dancing, or to remain even neutral as to it, they would have gratified their taste for it by allowing them, at least occasionally, to indulge in it an hour or two; and for that purpose they would have opened their own houses. Is there any reason to suppose, that, under such a state of things, there would be any disposition to get up assemblies, and to prolong them to unreasonable hours?

“This objection to amusements on account of its leading the young into habits of over-indulgence and dissipation would vanish immediately, if they were furnished regularly, and pursued in common, without distinction of age or sex. The appetite for them would never be left to hanker for them inordinately, and there would always be such an influence within the circle of the amusement as to preclude all dissipation.” — pp. 265 – 269.

Unquestionably, many evils now spring out of the amusements which prevail in society. How shall these evils be remedied?

The first step towards a better state of things is, for religious men to recognize the place which amusements hold in human life. Instead of regarding them as if a serious man could, at the most, only overlook and wink at them in the young, a wise Christian parent will take scarcely less pains to put his children into the way of those which are suited to their age than he takes in providing them with schools. He will avoid calling that which is good evil, as carefully as he avoids calling evil good. Knowing that they must have pleasures, that they ought to have them, and that these pleasures will go far to decide the social relations and deeply affect the

dispositions and moral tastes and habits of his children, he will not leave them to chance. Instead of giving the young the idea, that the uncalculating hilarity of a fresh and unworn nature necessarily partakes of sin and implies a frivolous worldliness, or that a solemn face is a special sign of a good heart, he will rather lead them to be grateful to God for the sensibility to pleasure which he has given, and for the means of enjoyment. This point is strongly urged in the volume before us.

"Instead of amusements, like other things, being in the hands of the religious and the irreligious, so that one shall be a check upon the other, they are surrendered entirely into the hands of the latter. Instead of the ripened in years approving, encouraging, superintending, and regulating them, they are handed over without check to the young. Nothing in the world could be more disastrous. Let the religious community act in the same manner with regard to any thing else of that nature, and nothing could save it from perversion. Let religious men all retire from any one branch of trade, as inconsistent with their profession, and how long would it be before the character of that branch of business would decline? Let them withdraw their support from common schools, the newspaper press, or any thing of that nature, and it would be a sorry compliment to them to say that the character of those schools and that press would not deteriorate in consequence. Let them withdraw from the political arena, and who would feel the same security that he now does in the permanency of our institutions? Could the moral pressure from without do one tithe towards restraining vicious legislation that the same body of Christians could do at their posts, making their principles felt, and meeting their whole duty? Would not one vote at the ballot-box be more effectual than whole broadsides of criticism and censure from the press or the desk?

"The village pastor gives no entertainments, of any kind, to his parishioners, and would as soon think of turning his parlour into a bear-garden as to allow it to be used in the entertainment of them, in the enjoyment of the dance, or any other light and joyous amusement. The officers of the church are usually more rigid on those points than their pastor, while the members of the church seldom venture to break over the rules of self-denial that are imposed upon them by their superiors. Those, perhaps, constitute a majority of the most influential families in the place, and the social condition of that village is fixed by those few leading individuals. Thus social amusements are effectually excluded from the firesides of the majority of the leading families in the parish. Nothing is done by them to amuse or entertain the

young, the middle-aged, or the aged. Nothing is done by them to fill up those long winter-evening hours, so capable of useful appropriation.

"Though *they* provide no place for social amusements, is no place provided? Who does not know that that system has made the village inn, with its bar-room, as much an adjunct of the village church as the grave-yard? In that respect, travel in what direction you will, the church-steeple carries consolation to the thirsty traveller, for he knows that the tap-room is near. Why is this? The answer is a plain one. Men will be social. It is their nature. If every thing festive and social is banished from the fireside, they will seek the enjoyment of each other's society somewhere else; and if no better place offers, they will resort to the bar-room, or even the dram-shop." — pp. 175 – 178.

Another most desirable point is, for different ages and sexes to associate together in seasons of pleasure. God has united them together in the most sacred of all relations, that of the family, that the aged and the young, man and woman, may act and react on each other. The order of Providence is never violated except to the harm of all. Every one has been witness of the fact, that if young men form the habit of seeking amusement by themselves, herding together in their pleasures, it ends almost invariably in their mutual corruption. What is true of them is equally true of all other ages and classes. The author of the volume before us describes the union of different ages and sexes as "the conservative principle of society." Each is a healthful restraint on the other, and each will run to excess without the other. If a young man associate only with young men, his pleasures will probably become coarse and debasing. The society of woman is the restraining and refining power appointed by Providence. It is good for the aged to mingle with children. It helps to preserve the freshness of the heart. And the sports of children are never more agreeable or profitable than when carried on under the sympathizing eyes of those older than themselves. An illustration of the utility of bringing different classes together on occasions of pleasure is seen in those public festivities in which women have been induced to take a part. Public dinners were formerly too often tainted with coarseness, excess, and intemperance; but wherever woman has been seated at the table, the excess has disappeared, the occasion has been made more intellectual, and the enjoyment doubled.

There is no part of the book before us of more value than that which treats of the importance of associating amusements with domestic life. Let no pains be spared in making those hours the pleasantest which are spent with parents and brothers and sisters. The young man has lost one of the safeguards of his virtue, in whose memory home is connected only with unreasonable restraints and formal lessons, but whose pleasures recall seasons stolen from the watchfulness, or spent in defiance of the commands, of parents. So far as amusements are innocent, let parents show that they take pleasure in seeing their children participate in them as far as is reasonable. Let the home be made so happy, and the intercourse of neighbours and friends be so arranged, that the young shall not feel the desire of seeking amusements away from those whose presence is their best protection and restraint. Much of the concealment, and the consequent danger and excess, of the pleasures of the young is owing to the dulness of home, and to the way in which parents so often treat nearly all amusement, as if it were a mournful frivolity or sin.

The general subject assumes a more serious interest as we enter our large cities, and is at the same time embarrassed by greater difficulties. For example, to look at it under a single aspect, in the city of Boston there are hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of young men, of sixteen years of age and upwards, employed as clerks and apprentices. Great numbers of these are from the country, and their only home in the city is a boarding-house. Their kindred and friends are at a distance, they have no acquaintance with families, and their associates, when the hours of business are over, are young men like themselves. Their employers can exercise but a limited supervision over them, and they are left very much to choose their own friends and pleasures. How shall their evenings be occupied? We are not unmindful of the exertions which have been made to provide for those thus situated profitable ways of employing their leisure time. Public libraries have been opened, large provision has been made in winter for public lectures, and the means of improvement are put within the reach of all who desire to make use of them. But, on the other hand, the means of amusement and pleasure have, to a great extent, been left to be provided by those who take no interest in the moral welfare of the young, whose only object is gain,

and whose profit is often increased by pandering to the lower tastes and inclinations. Besides places of amusement which furnish occupation for leisure hours without tempting those who visit them, fifteen hundred dram-shops and bar-rooms throw open their doors, and solicit the entrance of the idle and the lonely. In not a few places, gambling goes on with closed shutters and guarded doors, from night till morning; while licentiousness opens for the unwary those gates over which ought to be written, in letters of fire, "Who enters here leaves hope behind." It is not to be expected that all these evils should be removed from a large city, and they whose inclinations are bad will always find or create the means of vicious indulgence. But large numbers of the young who are finally corrupted were originally well disposed. They were, probably, infirm of purpose, and possessed few resources, and their ruin might be traced in a great measure to the fact, that no way was provided for occupying those hours which are properly given to relaxation and pleasure. In many cases they are obliged to choose between spending the evening alone in their chamber, or looking for companions where they will be surrounded by the appliances of temptation. For want of a more suitable place to which they may go, they find their way into some bar-room. The companions whom they there meet speedily become their associates, and among them are those who initiate them step by step into all the haunts and ways of dissipation. Something like this is the history of multitudes of those who are finally led down to ruin and moral death. Among the means of saving such young persons from exposure, one is to provide safe, and at the same time agreeable, ways of spending their leisure hours. We do not suppose that this alone is enough to protect them from danger. But it certainly is most desirable that these haunts of corruption should be supplanted by places of amusement free from seductions to evil. It is scarcely more important to suppress the former than it is to provide the latter. Instead of frowning on amusements, and thus making them all dangerous, it would be well if those interested in the moral and religious welfare of the city would see that those which are safe and attractive were made accessible to the young. The man is a public benefactor who opens a new place of amusement to which the unoccupied, the weary, and the lonely may go and spend an occasional evening pleasantly, without being exposed to moral harm.

In the common attempts made to regulate amusements and to improve their character, it seems to us that the chief stress is laid on what is, after all, but a subordinate point. We classify them as good and safe, as unsafe and bad, and think it enough if the latter are suppressed. The great fact is neglected, that an amusement which is healthful to one may, to another of a different age, character, and situation, be ruinous. Then, too, things may change, while the name remains the same. A bowling-alley to which the idle and dissipated resort for the purpose of gambling is a public nuisance. On the other hand, a bowling-alley made use of in a large city, as the best kind of exercise within their means, by men who spend ten or twelve hours a day leaning over desks in offices and counting-rooms, may be to them the source of health and lengthened days and useful labors. It certainly is possible to conceive of methods in which a theatre could be conducted, so that, on the whole, it should be a profitable institution in a large city; and we know it may be so conducted as to be full of peril to the public morals. Besides, to suppress even dangerous amusements does not touch the true point. If the character of a people remains the same, the same inclinations will invent, under new names, new methods for securing the old gratifications.

The true method of raising the character of amusements is quite different from this. Amusements depend on tastes; and the only way to regulate amusements is to go behind them, and regulate tastes. The only way to improve and elevate them is to lead young persons to cultivate a higher order of tastes. If a young man has never cultivated any taste but for eating and drinking, he will probably find his way in leisure hours to the places where those like himself resort. If, instead of this, you give him a taste for music or any of the fine arts, the amusements which he seeks and values will undergo a corresponding change. If he has fostered a taste for any branch of science or literature, his evenings are likely to be spent in reading, in lecture-rooms, or with those interested in the same pursuits with himself. To raise the character of his amusements, it is not enough to denounce those which now attract him; but he must be led to cultivate a higher class of tastes, with the assurance, that, when this is accomplished, the amusements may generally be left to take care of themselves. Those causes are improving the character of social amusements, which are

awakening in the young an interest in intellectual pursuits and moral enterprises. Societies, libraries, public lectures, galleries of pictures and statues help to promote this good end. Whatever leads young persons to feel a deeper interest in the moral welfare of society acts speedily and beneficently on public amusements. They are elevated and freed from harmful associations by whatever strengthens and purifies the affections of domestic life. They are made safer by all that adds to the authority of the conscience. But then, and then only, are they perfectly healthful and safe, when, like the most serious duties of life, they are brought under the control of the highest law, when they are sought and enjoyed under a prevailing desire to do nothing which Almighty God may not look down upon with approval. This sentiment, thoroughly awakened, is the one which gives stability to moral principle. It imparts something of its own dignity to the humblest labors. And, like the sunshine on the earth, it sheds on the pleasures of life a cheerful and healthful light. It brings the moral nature into such a state, that, as a matter of taste and choice, one will seek and enjoy only that which is pure and good ; while it so repels what is evil, that he who possesses it may walk through temptation, like the men of old through the flames, who came out with not so much as " the smell of fire " on their garments.

We have endeavoured in these pages to present some of the views which Mr. Sawyer has given at length in the volume before us, and we now conclude by commending the volume itself to our readers. The work is diffuse, and parts of it are taken up with the discussion of points which the object he had in view probably made it needful for him to consider, but which will be of subordinate interest to most of our readers. His conclusions may not in all cases be assented to, but on the whole the book is well worthy of being read, and many of its suggestions deserve to be carefully pondered by parents, and by all who are interested in the true welfare of society.

E. P.

ART. II. — ZWINGLE AND LUTHER.

HIGH up among the bleak and frozen summits of the Alps of Tockenburg, on the first of January, 1484, while the inhabitants of Wildhouse were celebrating with prayers and thanksgivings their "happy new year," the joyful intelligence spread from dwelling to dwelling, that another son was added to the ancient and honored family of Zwingle. Had these simple people known what mighty energies were wrapped up in this child, what victories he would win over the errors of the world, and what truths he would establish, they would have joined hallelujahs to their songs of rejoicing, and hailed him as their great spiritual deliverer.

Just seven weeks before this event, Martin Luther was born. Far away among the valleys of the North, in the little town of Eisleben, he who was to become the great German Reformer lay in his cradle. If some prophet could have revealed the mysteries of the future, Saxony and Switzerland might have boasted of Christian heroes in their swaddling-clothes, whom they would have welcomed as the Moses and Aaron of a new dispensation, their leaders from the Pharaoh of the seven hills, more powerful than was he of the pyramids, — from the Egypt of the Tiber, darker than the Egypt of the Nile.

It is a little remarkable that two such men, born within two months of each other, and living so far apart, should have been aroused by the same Papal enormities, and have embraced the principles and proclaimed the doctrines of the Reformation at nearly the same time. Tetzel, by the sale of indulgences, awakened Luther to the sins of the Church. Samson, by the same iniquitous traffic, hastened the Reformation among the Alps. While Luther was preaching in a dilapidated shed in the great square of Wittemberg, Zwingle was quietly teaching the Gospel to his little flock in his church at Zürich. And while, in the moral darkness that brooded over the world, a voice seemed to be heard from the valleys; crying, "Watchman, what of the night?" it was answered, with all the boldness of faith and prophecy, from those Alpine watchtowers, "The morning cometh."

Less than a year intervened between the commencement of the Lutheran and the commencement of the Zwinglian Reformation. Of the great political and religious drama of

the sixteenth century the first scene was laid in 1517, at Wittenberg, and the second a few months later at Zürich. The spirit moved over the face of the stagnant waters, and said, "Let there be light; and there was light." The breath of God swept the mist of ignorance and superstition from the lowlands, and, as it rolled back over the mountains, it lingered but for a moment on their tops, then vanished away.

Zwingle received not his doctrines from Luther; they were his own. He shone by no borrowed light. The Reformation of the North was distinct from that of the South. They had no connection with each other, except in spirit, while their authors lived. They were two parallel streams, rising from different sources, flowing down along the years, and watering the dry and desert places of the moral world. But the lapse of time has now united them; and they will go moving on, in gentle majesty, carrying our common humanity to Christian perfection and eternal truth. Luther and Zwingle had labored two years before they had heard of each other. And why should they have had intercourse and joined their labors? Each had his work to do, and his place in which to work. Christians are brothers, though they may never have known or seen each other. Where there are true laborers, there is Christ's vineyard; and all are his servants and disciples who bear nobly the burden and heat of the day. Zwingle differed from Luther in some points of doctrine, and warm controversies at length arose between them. Still, they were pressing towards the same great essential truths. Their union was higher than a mere theological union; it was a union of spirit in Christ and in God. They disagreed on the doctrine of the eucharist. Luther rejected the old Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, yet believed in a real presence, which he called consubstantiation. Zwingle considered the bread and wine as symbols only of Christ's body and blood, and to be received as memorials of his last communion with his disciples.

The differences between them we can account for, if we consider the different circumstances in which they were placed. Germany was a confederate empire, torn by the jealousies and contests of petty kings; Switzerland was a confederate republic, and was harassed by fewer discords. The former was forced, by military tyrants and rigid laws, to submit to religious and political despotism; the latter enjoy-

ed more freedom. Germany feared the least innovation, for she had much to lose ; Switzerland was bound in no iron bands. While Zwingle was attacking every doctrine of the Church, the Pope sent him dignities and compliments ; when Luther began even to question her superstitions, he hurled a thunderbolt. Luther was a conservative ; he never entirely freed himself from the shackles of Rome. Zwingle was a radical, and his favorable position strengthened the natural freedom of his character. The former clung with great tenacity to some remnants of the worst dogmas of the old Church ; the latter renounced nearly all at the beginning of his ministry. The people of the Alps had entered the great temple of Christian truth, and were kneeling before its altars, while the people of Germany halted and loitered in its vestibule. Zwingle was a full century in advance of Luther. The Swiss Reformation was nearer the word of God and absolute truth after its author had labored two years, than was the German Reformation at Luther's death. One left the images in the churches undisturbed ; the other pulled them down with his own hands, and cast them into the flames. One would retain all that was not expressly condemned by the Scriptures ; the other would abolish all that was not expressly taught by the Scriptures. One wished to purify the Established Church, and let it remain ; the other would go beyond the Dark Ages, and restore the Church of the Apostles in its primitive purity. Luther aimed a blow at the doctrine of indulgences and good works ; Zwingle would expunge the whole catalogue of Papal superstitions.

“ They both saw that Romanism was the offspring of two systems, Judaism and Paganism, embodying their chief elements, pharisaism and idolatry. The former element had exalted ignorant, sinful man from earth to heaven, and made him proud. The latter element had degraded the infinite God of heaven down to earth, and given him the form of humanity on the canvas or in marble.” It was the work of the German Reformer to restore man to a higher dignity, the dignity of childlike humility, and to teach that the Father does not require the service of the lips and hands, but

“ doth prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure.”

It was the work of the Swiss Reformer to show that God does not dwell in wood or stone, but “ is a spirit, and must

be worshipped in spirit and in truth." Both Luther and Zwingle laid the foundation, but to Zwingle belongs the glory of the superstructure. The Reformation of Switzerland reached not all the truths of Christianity, but it was much more perfect than that of Germany. It strove for nothing in the past but for the truth of Christ and his apostles, and for every thing in the present and future which the light of knowledge and civilization could then reveal. Zwingle on his mountain-tops is like Moses on Sinai, receiving commandments directly from God ; but Luther, like Aaron, not quite free from the old Egyptian idolatries, allows his chosen Israel, in their weakness, the molten calf.

Such were the characteristics of the two Reformations which were long since blended into one. And they give us an outline of the two master-spirits that conceived and produced them. But we are bound to portray Zwingle's character in clearer light. And this we can best do by comparing it with Luther's. Luther was passionate and boisterous : Zwingle was calm and courteous. One would drive men to faith and piety : the other would persuade them by love and charity. Luther was a mystic ; yet his mysticism was free from dreaming sloth and insane infatuation : Zwingle was a rationalist ; but his reason was strengthened by the sublime truths of the Gospel. Luther retained through life much of the Papal spirit ; he was never more than half reformed : Zwingle was half Protestant from his childhood up. Luther had a rebellious nature and struggled hard with inward foes, and, like Paul of Tarsus, passed through fiery trials : but Zwingle, like St. John, full of faith and love, needed but to be called, to follow and repose on the bosom of Christ. Luther waded through the slough of despond, and lay in the dungeon of Giant Despair, and walked trembling through the dark valley to the celestial mountains : Zwingle wandered thither through green pastures and along by the side of still waters. The souls of both were alive to the charms of music. Luther played and chanted to drive tempting fiends back to their foul dwellings : but Zwingle strung his harp to draw down angels from their heavenly abode.

Zwingle endeavoured to free his countrymen from the shackles of Rome, and from the slavery of ignorance and political bondage. In our estimate of his labors, we must consider not only what he did for their religious interests, but what he did for their political and intellectual interests. It

was his mission to elevate his people to knowledge, virtue, and piety, and nobly did he labor to perform it. The Swiss were his children, and he gathered them up into his arms, and pressed them to his great heart, and showed them the way to wisdom and to God. He toiled earnestly and quietly, regarding neither the murmurs of priests nor the frowns nor compliments of the Pope. He saw the result of his labors in the happiness, sobriety, and moral refinement of those within his influence. In 1518, he stood nearly alone; two years after, thousands had embraced his doctrines, and become his true followers. Zwingle and his associates preached, and images and pictures of saints and martyrs vanished from the churches. The mass and confessional were abolished; cathedrals were left desolate; convents were broken up; and the revenues of Rome were stopped. A purer religion found a welcome in purer hearts. But still there were many like the silversmiths of Ephesus, who loved their ease and the wealth of Rome. And the priests and cardinals, like Demetrius of old, cried, "You, Zwinglians, spoil our trade, and we can make silver shrines no longer; it shall not be so; great is Diana of the Ephesians." But to the bold words and deeds of the Reformers the people answered, Amen!

Zwingle's last days were full of troubles. He was doomed to a tragic death. Difficulties arose between the Protestant and Catholic cantons lying side by side, and they gathered their armies to battle. Zwingle, too, must go; his presence alone will inspire his soldiers with courage. He lived in a fighting age, and perhaps had more of the spirit of Peter than of Christ. The combatants met on the plains of Cappel. The Protestants were defeated, and Zwingle was left mortally wounded on the field. Two soldiers found him after the battle, weltering in his blood, and, raising him up, asked him if he wished for a confessor. He could not speak; but sternly shook his head, thus answering, No. "Then commend yourself, in your heart, to the Virgin," said one; he again shook his head. "Die, then, base heretic!" said he, and thrust him through the heart. The hero Reformer crossed his hands on his breast; his eyes were turned upward towards heaven; and his calm, majestic countenance, lighting up with hope and love, seemed to say, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do; into thy hands I commend my spirit." And that true and noble soul quietly passed away.

ART. III. — REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.*

It is not our purpose to consider at any length the past action of the Colonization Society, or the motives with which it has been sustained. It has been and still is regarded, on the one hand, with jealousy and dislike, as "disguised Abolitionism," as undermining the existence of slavery at the South, as raising questions that ought to be kept hushed, and exciting hopes among the colored race that can never be realized; and, on the other hand, with even greater hostility, as a covert design to strengthen the bonds of slavery, as disguising the true issue, deferring indefinitely the hope of freedom, and both perpetuating and justifying the prejudice that exists towards that unhappy race. Rather than attempt a reply to what may be said on either hand, we shall confine ourselves as nearly as possible to the statement of a few leading facts, showing, so far as they can be accurately known, the condition and prospects of Liberia, and giving, if we can, a fair and honest answer to the most important inquiries suggested.

During the past year, two republics have been proclaimed before the world, — one in Europe, one in Africa. One, after a popular outbreak, which resulted in the overthrow of an ancient monarchy, found itself at the mercy of eleven men, irresponsible to any body and appointed by nobody, with the tremendous task before them of arranging the conflicting interests of a great and highly civilized nation; every social problem being forced at once upon their attention, and the terribly practical question being put, how out of such materials, without any apparent common points of religious or political faith, to construct a better and completer fabric than had existed before, — a question, after granting all honor to the heroism and humanity of the men who have sought to meet it, as perilous now as ever. The other, an obscure and feeble colony, planted first by the charity of a distant land, passed by a natural process of growth from its state of tutelage to an independent existence; every troublesome ques-

* 1. *A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa*, by A. ALEXANDER. Philadelphia: W. S. Martien. 1846. 8vo. pp 603.

2. *Reports of the American Colonization Society, for the Years 1846, 1847, 1848*. Washington. 8vo. pp. 43, 43, 60.

3. *African Repository* (Washington, D. C.); — *Liberia Herald*, — and *Africa's Luminary*, (Monrovia, Liberia).

tion being answered as it were beforehand, — faith and loyalty already existing, through the Christian element inculcated from the first, — its institutions shaped and its fundamental principles accurately determined, — a community already not only self-supporting, but forming a refuge and fixed point in a vast continent of ignorance, barbarism, and slavery. Each is an experiment ; and each is furnishing, before the world, the answer to a problem of equal interest for our century.

Liberia is a settlement on the West-African coast, consisting of about five thousand free blacks and liberated or recaptured slaves, together with nearly fifteen times this number of natives, who have voluntarily sought the shelter of its laws and the benefits of its schools and churches.* Its territory lies about three hundred miles along the coast, between the fourth and seventh degrees of north latitude, and extends forty-five miles into the interior. Its climate and productions are similar to those of other tropical regions ; its soil is exceedingly fertile, and its advantages for emigrants, on the score of health and comfort, are about the same, so far as we can judge, with those of the newly settled regions of our West and Southwest. It was declared an independent republic July 26, 1847, and has therefore just completed its first year of separate existence. Its constitution is similar in its general features to that of the United States ; many parts of it being a careful transcript from that. All its citizens are of African descent ; and its President, J. J. Roberts, was one of a respectable family of free blacks, who emigrated from Virginia in 1829. Two newspapers are published in Monrovia, one being a religious or missionary paper, and the editors of both being colored men. Being in some sense a missionary station, the religious element is very conspicuous in the character of the republic, distinguishing it very widely from most commercial settlements. All the leading men are marked by an apparently sincere and earnest profession of religious principle ; the Lord's day is rigidly observed ; intemperance and immorality are said to be comparatively rare ; and a public school system makes universal education one of the most prominent features of the young commonwealth.

* These last seem to be a class of probationary citizens, or residents, like the Roman "plebe." Only a small proportion of them as yet have the full rights of citizenship.

The plan of colonizing Africa was first suggested as early as 1776, by Rev. Dr. Hopkins.* He had been the owner of a slave, whom he sold before going to Newport ; and the purchase-money he devoted to the education of colored men, to be sent as teachers and missionaries to Africa. Sierra Leone was founded in 1787, under the auspices of Granville Sharpe, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and others, for the kindred object of the protection and instruction of recaptured slaves, especially of a few who in England had found only suffering and degradation. The idea of a colony of free blacks, either in the Northwest Territory or in Africa, was often discussed by Jefferson, and others of our leading statesmen, in the interval from 1801 to 1816 ; and on the 1st of January, 1817, the American Colonization Society was formed. Men of devoted zeal, Rev. S. J. Mills, S. Bacon, and others, undertook the arduous task of breaking the ground. Taking Sierra Leone as a starting-point, they explored painfully the neighbouring region, which had been to some extent depopulated, probably by wars among the native tribes fomented by the slave-trade. While statesmen thought chiefly how by these means they might remove what they regarded as an anomalous and dangerous element of society in America, it was regarded by these men as a sacred mission of Christian benevolence to Africa ; and there is no more touching chapter in the history of the missionary enterprise than the simple record of the toil in which they freely sacrificed both health and life.

The first company of emigrants, consisting of eighty-nine, sailed from New York in February, 1821, and resided till the following year at Sierra Leone. Land was purchased of the native chiefs by the mediation of Captain Stockton of the U. S. Navy, the jealousies arising among them were happily overcome by his prudence and decision, and on the 25th of April, 1822, the American flag floated on Cape Mesurado. Mr. Ashmun arrived in August, and assumed the agency ; and the needful preliminary steps of settlement were taken under his direction. But in the few following months, while the little company was nearly disabled by heavy rains and sickness, watching and excessive toil, while his wife was dying in a miserable hut, and he suffering extremely from fever, the neighbouring tribes were excited by the slavers of the coast to open hostility ; and a plan was formed to extirpate the

* Alexander's History, p. 49.

colony, or drive it by force from the purchase. It was saved only by the vigilance and intrepidity of Mr. Ashmun, and at the cost of two fierce battles with the natives, who were supplied with fire-arms by the traders. This was in the months of November and December, 1822. An English ship of war, coming at this crisis, befriended the exhausted colonists, in which deed of charity an officer and twelve men perished from exposure and disease ; and receiving no more assaults, the settlement continued to increase steadily and peaceably. A code of regulations was drawn up in 1824 by Mr. Ashmun, assisted by Rev. R. R. Gurley ; and under the care of successive agents, Liberia gradually assumed a position of importance, and came to attract considerable attention. Its flag gave shelter to those of the native tribes that sought it ; and the only other serious hostilities in which it was involved were in 1839, when a tribe living under its protection was fiercely assaulted by a party of cannibals and savages from the interior, and for a few days it was again necessary for the colony to maintain itself by arms. A small settlement, meanwhile, of emigrants who had been sent from Philadelphia in 1833, and were pledged to unconditional peace, was attacked and near being crushed by the natives, who spared only two houses, where they suspected there were weapons ; but being taken under shelter of the main colony, it was afterwards treated with respect ; and the slave-traffic was presently abandoned by the chief whom the traders had instigated to the attack.

In the course of time, as the colony became well established, and its productions and commerce were augmented, it excited the jealousy of English coast-traders, lest it should interfere with their inland barter ; and they several times attempted to land goods on its territory in defiance of its laws, even seizing a loaded vessel in reprisal for certain customs that had been collected by the colonial government. Redress could not be had, except on conditions hard and ruinous ; and a correspondence ensued between the British minister and our government at Washington, which resulted in a declaration on our part, that Liberia was not a recognized dependency, nor under the protection, of the United States, and so could only appeal to the generosity of other nations to respect its feebleness. This concession gave such advantage to the English traders, and so exposed the colony to intrusion and interference, that it found itself at length compelled to declare its independence, and to appeal as a sovereign state to other nations of the earth.

Meanwhile its affairs, at first administered through an agent appointed by the Colonization Society at home, had come to be more and more intrusted to its own control. A colonial legislature was elected by the people ; subordinate offices were held by them ; and finally, the agent (having the style of Governor) was for several years one of the colonists themselves, the present President Roberts. His messages and other state papers had attracted much attention for the decision of character and practical talent displayed in them ; and besides, he commanded the very general respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens. Under these circumstances, and with these habits of self-government already formed, the colony declared its independence in the summer of 1847, and a constitution was adopted, as has been already noticed.

During these thirty years of its existence, the parent Society met with very various success at home. For some years it was regarded with comparative favor by leading men in all parts of the country, as furnishing a common ground of benevolent action, where all could join ; and on the whole, in spite of many obstacles and discouragements, (partly from the character of the country and climate, partly from the peculiar nature of the materials to be employed,) its enterprise might be said to be favored and prosperous, if compared with the early American colonies, or with similar attempts elsewhere. But, from the causes we alluded to at the commencement, it presently lost many of its best supporters. First a Southern, and then a Northern jealousy was raised ; and from 1830 to 1840, the colonization scheme encountered every obstacle. This interruption of public favor, however injurious on other accounts, had yet the good effect of throwing the colony back on its own resources, and preventing a dangerously rapid and demoralizing growth, during the critical period of its formation. And within the last few years, partly from weariness among many at the long strife between North and South on the high question of the right and wrong of slavery, partly from its new and more imposing attitude as a sovereign state, it has begun to win back the attention that had been diverted, and to reassert more boldly the only pretension it ever made, as an experiment, now claiming a very fair measure of success, to test the capacity and establish the equal liberty of the African race.

This little settlement is an experiment, which, by its final

success or failure, will probably do more than any other one thing to determine the future condition and prospects of that race in our country ; because it is answering, apparently in the fairest and most unequivocal manner, the fundamental question, — the turning-point of the whole problem. The littleness of the colony (now an independent state) is no more a ground of cavil than the utter failure of the first few efforts to colonize America. In point of numbers, strength, health, costliness, and tranquillity, it compares, on the whole, very favorably with the New England settlements, when a quarter of a century old. Its glaring inadequacy, just now, to meet the whole fact of slavery in America, counting its three millions, or in Africa, counting its thirty millions, is no more reason against its fitness to do what it really undertakes, than the imperfect success of every colonial enterprise, even now, when matched against the gigantic mass of European pauperism. Its real merit is, that it opens a new field of hope and enterprise for the African race. And even admitting the most extravagant claim ever made for the colonization scheme, as the nucleus or programme of what may be hereafter a great national undertaking to remove every trace of slavery from our borders, it is not quite as fantastic as many persons have supposed. The cost of the Mexican war (taking the lowest estimate, — the last we have seen doubles it) would have been abundantly sufficient for transporting the whole colored population of this country, bond and free, (taking the highest estimate of numbers and cost,) to the African coast, and giving them a half-year's maintenance there. The whole outlay for colonization hitherto has been about equal to that of the war for two days, — not much more than that of the momentary relief we gave to the Irish during last year's famine. A great nation, if it chooses, can do great things.*

A more serious question in many minds is that which con-

* The entire cost of the colonization enterprise from the commencement may be rated at \$750,000. The lowest estimate of the expenses of the war (including incidentals) that we have seen is \$200,000,000; the highest, \$395,000,000. The total amount contributed in 1847 for the relief of the Irish, besides an equal or greater amount sent by the Irish in this country, (according to the incomplete estimate of the American Almanac,) was \$591,313.29. The expense incurred by each emigrant to Liberia "may be set down at \$50. This includes outfit, passage-money, and provisions on the voyage, a house to live in, provisions, medicine and medical attendance, and nursing when they are sick, for six months, and more or less aid, in various other ways, in establishing them comfortably, and in a condition thenceforth to take care of themselves." See Report for 1848.

templates hostilities with the African tribes. As must have been already observed, these are in all probability for ever at an end. Annexation is very easy, extermination never thought of. It has been asked, — “What do you say to the fact, that all the safety the colonists have they owe to standing armies and fortifications, and their missionary influence consists in shooting a native now and then?” Half this question has already answered itself, — the “fact” being shown to be no fact. The other half is answered by simply saying, that Liberia, as a nation, never claimed to be exempt from the usual contingencies of nations, or professed to do without an “armed police.”* The experiment of non-resistance was tried once on that coast, and the present colonists do not choose the hazard of repeating it. The details of the fighting that (with a solitary exception) has accompanied the infancy of every settlement in a barbarous region must always be repulsive; and most nations prefer to cover this portion of their history with a decent drapery of obscure allusions, while most writers have the good taste to leave them in the background as much as possible. Our pious ancestors, like Homer, had no such scruple; and we well remember the shuddering and heathenish triumph with which we used to read, in the devout doggerels of the “Historical Collections,” of the burning of the Pequods, or the massacres in King Philip’s war. And though our own nerves might probably be too sensitive to let us engage willingly in actual fighting, even for self-defence, still, while we claim for ourselves the protection of any authority which rests ultimately on force, (whether latent or active,) we will not stultify ourselves by abusing those who stand ready, in case of need, to wield it. It may be an open question, whether our life, or the existence of a colony or infant state, be worth defending; but that granted, all absolute objection is foreclosed on our part to the act of war. If the alternative be fairly put, the price must be fairly paid.

Omitting any further notice of these preliminary matters, we come directly to the main point, — the condition of the African race in this country, as likely to be affected by the

* The message of President Roberts to the Liberian Congress strongly urges the necessity of a well organized and disciplined militia; and especially of an armed vessel, strong enough to keep slavers off the coast.

colonization enterprise. Four considerations will at once suggest themselves, marking the outline of that great topic as a whole ; and all should be kept in mind, when attending to any single question that may rise out of either one of them. These are, the awakened moral feeling of the civilized world on the subject of slavery, together with the singular attention everywhere bestowed on the condition of the colored race ; the enormous increase and aggravated misery of the foreign slave-trade, under every effort made to suppress it, — unless within the last year or two, which are said on good authority to form an exception, and this in a great degree owing to the colonizing of the coast ; the slow, yet steady, retreat of the slave population of this country towards the Southwest, almost marking the exact period at which the border States will become free, while it multiplies in the extreme South to a most startling extent ; and the rapid accumulation, particularly in the Western States, of a colored population nominally free, but depressed often to an extreme degree of hardship, its disabilities rather increasing than diminished, till it threatens to become that greatest moral and social peril, a numerous degraded and alien caste, almost defenceless before the jealousy and easily roused hostility of the stronger race.

We must presume that our readers have all the information needful to establish these positions. Still, it may not be amiss to state briefly the facts on which the last two assertions are made. By a comparison of statistics,* it will appear that the slave population of the three northeastern Slave States (including the District of Columbia) was diminished about thirty-six thousand, or at the rate of ten a day, between the years 1830 and 1840 ; while in the three southwestern States it increased in the same period about three hundred and twenty thousand. The diminution is doubtless owing, in great part, to the internal slave-trade, and in part to escapes ; but, in addition, a work of gradual voluntary emancipation, to an uncertain extent, and affected by various causes, is steadily going on. The frequent purchases for liberation in this region are a fact well known.

In reference to the other assertion, it would be interesting to trace the operation of general causes, which indicate that the free colored population of this country are a “ wandering

* American Almanac for 1848, p. 214.

tribe," shifting their ground as steadily and constantly as a ship at sea that takes no account of the undertow, — veering vaguely towards the vague Southwest, until some permanent home shall be found for them on this or the other continent. A comparison of statistics, apparently made with care,* establishes the fact, that, notwithstanding the constant accessions to the colored population of the northern Free States, by manumission or voluntary emigration, and notwithstanding the existence there of much active philanthropy in its behalf, it yet not much more than half keeps pace (in New England only in the proportion of one fourth) with the natural rate of its own increase without such aid. Climate, competition, and oppressive legislation (growing, on the whole, more severe instead of milder, — an extraordinary anomaly in the history of modern jurisprudence) are steadily driving it westward, — "ever drifting, drifting, drifting," towards the vast and undefined Southwest. The ultimate result, setting aside the frightful issue of extermination, which some anticipate, seems likely to be, either an *euthanasia* of slavery, in the establishment of a free African commonwealth in a remote district of Mexico, said to be every way suited to that purpose, and already occupied by that race, or else the spontaneous adoption, by the free colored people, of some plan akin to this of colonization, by which they may be independently settled elsewhere. We disregard, as belonging in part to popular prejudice, the usual statements as to their character and condition, and also omit those considerations of morals and humanity, which always, to a greater or less degree, modify the operation of general laws, such as we have now presented it; our immediate object being only to obtain the broadest statement of fact that may indicate the practical bearing of the main question. We take the facts as we find them; being responsible, not for them, but for the use we make of them.

Let us see now how this question has been answered by the Africans for themselves. We shall accept no testimony on the subject, except as to necessary statistics, from any who may be supposed to have the prejudices of another race or class. This, we conceive, is the only legitimate and proper way to approach the topic we have in view.

From the Declaration of Independence of Liberia we

* African Repository for June, 1848.

cite the following passages. They contain what to all appearance is a perfectly fair and authentic statement, not made in a patronizing tone by self-styled "friends of the blacks," but in a frank and manly tone, by the willing testimony of those whose personal experience it claims to be.*

"We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally inhabitants of the United States of North America. In some parts of that country, we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men; in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down. We were everywhere shut out from all civil office; we were excluded from all participation in the government; we were taxed without our consent; we were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection; we were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

"Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, we established ourselves here, on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil. Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

"Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation; but an asylum from the most grinding oppression. In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties which impart to man his dignity; to evince to all who despise, ridicule, and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man. We were animated with the hope that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go, to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue, and religion. Thus far, our highest hopes have been realized.

"Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen; our numerous and well-attended schools attest our efforts for the improvement of our children; our churches, everywhere to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and our acknowledgment of Divine Providence; the native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God,

* Report of American Colonization Society for 1848, p. 46.

declares that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth ; while upon that curse of curses, the slave-trade, a deadly blight has fallen, as far as our influence extends.

"Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion, in the name of the great God, our common Creator and our common Judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities."

We make no apology for giving so long a citation from this interesting document, because it is testimony of precisely that nature which we desire, and illustrates one by one the whole series of facts which we have before alluded to. We introduce, in addition, a few provisions of the Constitution, all going to the further illustration of the same points, as apprehended and acted on by these people in a free community.

"There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly." — Art. I. § 4.

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land." — Art. I. § 8.

"The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic." — Art. V. § 13.

"The improvement of the native tribes, and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry, being a cherished object of this government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same ; and the legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes, by the appropriation of money." — Art. V. § 15.

Now we are very far from meaning to imply that the confident and even triumphant tone prevailing in most of this language is universal. Liberia forms no exception, doubtless, to what we find in every recent settlement. We hear

incidentally of precisely the same regrets expressed by some of these colonists, that our own ancestors (and especially their wives) may be supposed to have felt on coming to America, or that we hear now among our Irish emigrants, and even among those who go from dear New England a few hundred miles towards the West or South,—the same fond reminiscence of the homes left behind, the same aggravating contrasts, the same dread of change, sickness, or loss of what was precious in “the old country.” Emigration is, doubtless, no holiday or dainty work. It would not be in the human heart, not to feel even bitterly such a change as this. And for the first generation, perhaps, the loss of comfort very nearly outweighs the gain of hope and energy.*

Still, the work is of a sort that always must be done. And the proper answer to this complaining is, first, that the enterprising man, crowded and depressed, seeks instinctively a broader field of action, and, taking his family with him, gives the needful character of decision and energy to the growing community,—to be followed afterwards by the more timid and weak; and next, that, by the appointment of Providence, these families, which go from sympathy or by a sort of constraint at first, are made to labor, not for their own sake, but for the generations coming after. All that we have heard (doubtless exaggerated) of the discomforts of this African colony does not make a parallel for the single case of Lady Arbella Johnson; it is almost matched by some family histories that illustrate the still fresh colonizing of the West, and is far outweighed by the daily distress of Irish immigrants. Still, America is a land of hope, and Africa may be. Still the nations, barbarous or civilized, go on steadily to “replenish the earth, and subdue it”; and no one murmurs at the great decree of Providence.

The real question is, Are these transient physical disadvantages on the whole overbalanced by the moral gain? Here, again, we take the testimony of the colonists themselves.† Without giving any description of the celebration of the

* The principal physician of Liberia, Dr. Lugenbeel, says,—“The physical systems of the second generation will be as well adapted to this climate as the aborigines are.”

† The editor of Africa’s Luminary, a colored man, says,—“We need envy no man or nation of men on earth. *We do not envy them now.*” And then follows a series of statements on the “practical demonstrations already established by the colony.” See Report for 1846.

twenty-fourth of August, on occasion of the elevation of the Liberian republican flag, (very much a transcript of like festivities in America, exhibiting, too, the modern practice of total abstinence from liquors,) we copy, as decidedly the best feature of the day, a part of one of the hymns written for the occasion.

“ See Mesurado’s height
Illumed with new-born light !
Lo ! the lone star ! *
Now it ascends the skies,
Lo, the deep darkness flies,
While new-born glories rise
And shine afar.

“ Shine, life-creating ray, —
Proclaim approaching day ;
Throw wide thy blaze !
Lo ! savage Hottentot,
Bosjamine from his cot,
And nations long forgot,
Astonished gaze.

“ Shout the loud jubilee !
Afric once more is free, —
Break forth with joy !
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“ Star in the East, shine forth,
Proclaim a nation’s birth !
Ye nations, hear !
This is our natal day ;
And we our homage pay, —
To Thee, O Lord, we pray, —
Lord, hear our prayer ! ”

It has probably been apparent, from the specimens of Liberian literature already given, and would be still more so, if we should multiply quotations, that it shows more signs of imitation, and reliance on other minds, than of adventurous and independent intellect. The quality of imitation, observable generally in the race, (or perhaps the old sentiment and habit of dependence,) is seen alike in the folds of their flag,

* The Liberian flag is similar to that of the United States; but with eleven stripes and a single star. The national motto is, “The love of liberty brought us here.”

the forms of their constitution, and the received dogmas of their theology. Their strict observance of the Sabbath has been already noticed. They implicitly believe themselves to be children of Ham, and to have been under the curse pronounced on his descendants, which is just beginning to be removed. All this is part of the lesson that has been taught them, and so becomes curiously implicated with the moral influence which is their great safeguard and restraint. We have heard it suggested, that the "theocracy" of certain sects will prevent the colony from ever having a native vigor of its own. But it seems much easier to show, that an element of very positive religious faith, and the conviction of a religious mission in occupying that soil, are absolutely indispensable to give a reasonable hope of harmony, and a conservative principle in the social fabric. It is far more important just now, that there should be religious men among the colonists, than that there should be depth of speculation, or original discoveries in thought. The direction given to their minds, so far as indicated, towards schools and churches, the arts of life, and civilizing action on the native tribes, is the very safest that could be given. It is certainly the point of most advantageous comparison with other lands.

It has occurred to us, that possibly there may be persons of such whimsical and wayward philanthropy, as to be disappointed at the signs of prosperity in this infant state; and that they might perhaps be relieved to be told of some calamity or adverse thing by way of contrast. But we are happy to have no such solace to offer them. Perhaps it is no more than fair to say, that the accounts of some professed "eyewitnesses" are totally irreconcilable with others; and hence, rather than undertake to judge of the motives from which stories so flatly contradicting each other have been told, we have given no testimony but what was written on the spot by the citizens themselves. We have only to add, in reference to this point, that, by the latest information received, "Monrovia was rapidly improving"; and that President Roberts is now proceeding on a commission to the several governments of the chief commercial nations, to procure an acknowledgment from them of the independence and commercial rights of the Republic. "Since the little ship of state was launched," writes Dr. Lugenbeel, "she has been gliding along smoothly and quietly."

In the remarks we have made, we have endeavoured to keep

clear of every vexed and exciting topic of difference ; and to present simply those facts, vouched on the best authority, which are most important for taking a just and broad view of the subject. Far more is at issue in this experiment than the good faith of the colonizationists, or the good judgment shown in selecting the spot where the experiment must be made. The existence and prosperity of this African republic are most directly interesting as bearing on the condition of free people of color in America. For their shelter and the full vindication of their rights it was first designed. The elements of its growth must come mainly from them ; and unless it succeed in attracting their attention, and a good degree of confidence among them, its progress must be slow and fluctuating. Accordingly, we have exhibited it with particular reference to them. But it has other bearings, though less direct, not less important ; and of these we must say a few words, in conclusion. We allude to its connection with the Christian civilization of Africa, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the eventual emancipation of the slaves in our Southern States. Touching these three points, we shall speak as briefly as possible.

As to the first, we take (at second hand), as most explicit, the testimony of President Roberts.* He reports, " that, in a tour of more than two hundred miles into the interior of Africa, he found manifest traces of colonial influence, extending through the entire distance ; that there were individuals in every place where he stopped who could speak the English language ; that the chiefs of the different tribes through which he passed evinced the utmost eagerness to have schools established among them, in which their children might be taught the knowledge of the arts of civilization and the truths of the Christian religion ; and that the ' head men ' offered to erect buildings and appropriate lands for the support of these institutions." " It is well known, also," says the writer from whom we have borrowed this testimony, " that the sons of chiefs, and of other distinguished natives, have been sent a distance of three or four hundred miles from the interior into the colony, to be educated." A missionary tract, written by Rev. J. L. Wilson, testifies to the same kindliness of disposition, and readiness to receive instruction, shown by the native tribes, among whom he has " travelled

* *African Repository*, Nov., 1847.

many thousands of miles, in times of peace and in times of war"; while he "never thought it necessary to furnish himself with a single implement of defence, nor was he ever placed in circumstances where there would have been any just cause for using such weapon, even if he had been supplied." From the Constitution of Liberia we have already cited passages which show how generously this willingness on the part of the natives has been met; for by a liberal provision of that document, perhaps without a parallel in any similar public act, the feeble settlement lays down, as a great principle of legislation, second only to the paramount claim of self-preservation, and as the most Christian policy, too, of national defence, the duty of the government to shelter and instruct, at its own pains and cost, the ignorant barbarians of the neighbourhood. A mission so clearly seen and deliberately accepted cannot fail, in hands however feeble, of resulting in great good. It is still thought necessary by many that white men should lead the way, since their presence commands a peculiar and prescriptive respect; but the more enlightened blacks, removing thither, claim even jealously the bulk of the work as their own special and appointed task. In one case, there has been dissension between the colony and the missionary station of the Board, arising, we understand, from the wish of the latter to be exempt from the colonial tariff-laws, while occupying the territory. This station was abandoned; but since then, the Episcopal mission "have openly acknowledged that they can only act in connection with the colonies."

As we have already shown, the slave-trade, directly or indirectly, has been the sole cause of interruption to this generous and friendly intercourse. In this view, the hostilities with the natives may be considered as an act of alliance with the armaments by which England and America are endeavouring to intercept that horrible traffic. It seems pretty well established, that the colony has been much the most effective party to this alliance, though still needing the coöperation of the others. Wherever it puts its foot, the slave-trade is extirpated, as thoroughly as dry prairie-grass is burned in autumn. Its territory embraces what was once the chief baunt of that iniquity. One station after another has been bought, and rescued for ever from the curse of slavery. "Six small tracts" in its line of coast are beyond its jurisdiction; and here the traffic flourishes as of old. Ships of war, it is said,

often hover about such a spot for weeks ; then, if they withdraw from sight, " the slaver seizes his chance, dashes in, takes on board his cargo, and in less than a night is out of danger." Half the cost of maintaining the vessels these few weeks or days would have purchased the port for the colony, and purged it for ever. Great Britain, if the estimates furnished us are correct, spent for this service alone, in a single year (1847), to say nothing of the hazard to life and health of officers and crews, four times the cost of the whole colonization enterprise from its commencement. Some of the most interesting items of information from Liberia relate to the purchase of successive slave-stations, — a work of unwearied ambition to the Republic.* The details of this traffic for the last few years need not be enlarged upon. It is enough to say, that it is estimated to have grown to more than six times what it was sixty years ago ; that in 1840, five hundred thousand were reckoned to be its victims ; and that the assertion has been distinctly made, that no efforts on the part of armed squadrons will prevent the full complement of slaves being brought into the markets of Brazil and Cuba ; the only real effect of their vigilance being the sacrifice of a vast additional number of lives, through the frightful suffering incurred in consequence of the smaller, swifter vessels employed in a hazardous, because contraband, trade.† On the other hand, the effect of the colony is twofold : it closes the traffic, by its successive purchases of territory ; and by its influence on the native tribes, it instils a detestation of it, and checks the barbarous wars by which the supply of victims for that coast was formerly obtained. The only effectual safeguard is to belt the entire coast with a girdle of " free territory." ‡

* The following is an extract from a notification by President Roberts to a noted slave-trader, after the purchase of his station, dated December 22, 1847 : — " I do hereby require you, in the name of the government of Liberia, to discontinue, on the receipt of this letter, the further traffic in slaves, under the penalty of having your establishment removed by force from the territory. Should this notice be disregarded, the consequences will be upon your own shoulders." See Repository for April and June, 1848.

† " With respect to slavery and its cure," says Martin Farquhar Tupper, " it seems to me, unless I am deceived by fair appearances, that your society has ' hit the blot.' We, with the best intentions, have blundered the whole business ; we have ruined our West Indies by unprepared emancipation, and waste millions annually on the absurdity of attempting to blockade a continent ; moreover, through our ill-judged efforts, the horrors of the passage are increased tenfold, and poor Africa groans under the additional burdens laid on her by the dull zeal of her would-be liberator, England."

‡ It was during the season of comparative neglect, (from 1830 to 1840),

In approaching the final point of our survey, we feel strongly the magnitude of the difficulties and perplexities which beset it on every side. At the present stage of public opinion on this subject, it is not to be hoped that any one solution of even a part of the momentous problem will be generally accepted or understood. And from the peculiar attitude in which the colonization enterprise has stood towards the several aspects of the main question and the several phases of the public mind, we can hardly expect but that bitter prejudice and wilful misunderstanding on either hand will prevent the due appreciation of its rightful claim and work. Without entering fully into the discussion of so great a matter, we submit a few considerations which certainly ought to have weight. Our responsibility in this regard is something more than to "clear our skirts of the iniquity." If we raise our voice at all, we are bound by every obligation, as Christian citizens, to seek some clear, definite, well-established, and practical view of truth and duty.

At the outset, the following points should be kept clearly in view, taken for granted, and never abandoned:—that slavery must eventually and completely come to an end; that every man must look forward to nothing less than this result, and be preparing for its inevitable approach; and that every step must be steadily taken, and never one retraced, which may lead on the peaceful process, slow, but sure, by which that consummation shall be brought about. These postulates give us the point of view we want.

Now absolutely the only sure reliance that can be had, in reference to the great work of ultimate emancipation, is on the conscience and humanity of those who sustain the direct responsibility. Whatever touches these rightly secures one

and while the colony was in its lowest condition of prosperity and morals, that suspicions rested on some of the colonists, of connivance at the slave-trade of the vicinity. It may be true that "there was more or less smuggling of slavers' goods, selling of tobacco, etc.," to them, in defiance of the colonial law; but it was "all carried on clandestinely and under cover," so that "no transaction of the kind could be traced out and proved." The administration at that time was wanting in vigor; but we feel authorized, from private assurances of the highest authority, to deny that the colony as such was ever more implicated in the traffic than the government of Great Britain or the United States is at this moment. Its most questionable proceeding, indeed, was the violent breaking up of a slave-factory on the coast, about the year 1829, in which the head of the establishment was killed. As to charges on individuals, some of them of the most aggravated nature, it is enough to say that they involve a question of veracity between the parties, which will probably be determined (if it has not been already) before a different tribunal.

degree of success. Whatever does not, however well meant, is worse than thrown away. And it is not only the theory, but the ascertained and established fact, that the existence of the colony, when it stood highest in public favor, did very considerably promote and multiply voluntary manumissions of slaves. Not only were they liberated on condition of going to Liberia, but the very circumstance of thus opening a new field of hope, and testing by fair experiment the disputed capacity of the race, did very sensibly affect the relative statistics of the free black and slave population of this country, raising the rate of increase of the former by about one fifth.* It would be grossly unjust to call in question the motives with which these manumissions have been made; and equally unjust to set aside the circumstance, that there are always on hand offers of persons far exceeding the means provided for their transportation. The extent of emancipation by this means is bounded only by the limits of the available funds of the Colonization Society. And it is a fact more creditable to those who have liberated their slaves for this purpose than to the general sentiment of our country towards the race, that the "freedmen," as a general rule, are far better citizens and subjects of the African republic than the "freemen" have proved as yet. The discipline of steady labor contributes, with the privilege of newly gotten liberty, to make them the most valuable element of the population. And as a very large portion of the colored race in America have a good degree of education, and almost all some practical acquaintance with the arts of life, it seems highly desirable, on every account, to enlarge this channel of direct influence on the work of emancipation.

But, finally, it is the indirect influence on which the greatest reliance is to be placed. For here is an explicit and intelligible reply to the "previous question," on a right answer to which absolutely every thing depends. It cannot be disguised, that the general impression prevailing as to the issue of the sudden emancipation in Hayti, and even in the other West India islands — a point involved in singular contradiction and obscurity — constitutes the perpetual defence set up for timid and uncertain counsels on this great practical topic. On the other hand, let any one consider the moral

* See Repository for June, 1848, p. 178. The rate has declined again, since 1830.

effect of this experiment, if reasonably successful. However small a proportion of the colored race may actually remove to Africa, yet the existence there of a free and prosperous commonwealth made up of them must do more than any thing to insure a condition of comparative immunity and justice to those who are left behind. New relations and associations of thought become established. The badge of dependence is taken off. The voice of hope must go back and forth across the waters. And the light of liberty will be thrown westwardly from Africa upon our shore, just as it has been thrown hence to Europe, and will bring an equal blessing to the Old World and the New.

J. H. A.

ART. IV.—CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM.*

To whatever quarter we look for omens, it is very obvious that Christianity is to concern itself as never before with that great social problem of our age,—the relation between man and wealth. This problem, with the interests depending upon it, has been the cause of the tremendous agitations that have convulsed the kingdoms of Europe during the present year, and has inspired the ablest works of the strong minds of our day. Theologian and political economist, philanthropist and moral philosopher, preacher, pamphleteer, editor, stump-speaker,—all classes of writers and orators are eager to give their statement of prevalent social evils, and not a few of them profess to have found the universal panacea.

* 1. *Histoire de l'Économie Politique en Europe, depuis les Anciens jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par M. BLANQUI, Aîné. Deuxième Edition. Paris. 1842. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 468, 494.

2. *On the Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, more especially with Reference to its Large Towns.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D. and LL. D. Glasgow. 3 vols. 12mo. pp. 431, 395, 444.

3. *Political Economy and the Philosophy of Government; a Series of Essays selected from the Works of M. DE SISMONDI. With an Historical Notice of his Life and Writings.* By M. MIGNET. From the French. London. 1847. 8vo. pp. 459.

4. *Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London. 1848. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xvi., 593, xv., 549.

5. *The True Organization of the New Church, as indicated in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and demonstrated by Charles Fourier.* New York. 1848. 12mo. pp. 454.

Of the prominent books bearing upon the socialism of our time, we have selected for our guidance a few that seem to us the best representatives of leading classes. Blanqui, the elder, — not the younger, — has written, with great industry, point, and brilliancy, the history of political economy from the days of the ancient Greeks to our own time. The want of an examination of the Egyptian and, above all, of the Jewish political economy leaves a serious defect in the work. An acute and comprehensive survey of the economic bearings of the Mosaic polity, from so able a pen, would have possessed great value and interest. The *litterati* of France, however, have never been remarkable for their Biblical lore. Still, he who should translate these volumes would render a great service to English literature, and present a view of the history of nations equally novel, attractive, and important. Blanqui's work prepares the way for the study of the wants of our own age, alike by the experience which he brings to us from the past, and by the clearness with which he traces to their source the great social evils, the overgrown wealth and squalid pauperism, that afflict the nineteenth century. Sismondi is fitly read in connection with him. With the vast knowledge gathered from his historical studies, and with a spirit well worthy of commendation, he portrays the more alarming features of our civilization; and without venturing to prescribe any remedy, he startles us by his revelation of the results of monopoly and competition in grinding down the many, and forcing the smaller farmer and manufacturer to become the dependent hirelings of the capitalist. The three other authors offer their own favorite remedies for the miseries which, much in the spirit of the historians already named, they believe to exist. The English political economist, the Scotch Presbyterian, and the American associationist fitly represent the leading views that earnest men take of the proper cure of pressing social ills. We will speak of their principles more fully, after having glanced at some of the prominent aspects of our civilization.

What is the most conspicuous feature of our age, as compared with the leading epochs of history? Evidently it is not the love of the beautiful arts, as in Athens, nor military glory, as in Rome, nor the sway of the priesthood, as in the Middle Ages, nor the rule of the predestinarian dogma, as in Puritan times. The leading men of those countries or ages would marvel much at the manners, customs, and opinions of

our nineteenth century. Fancy Pericles or Julius Cesar, St. Bernard or Calvin, to be set down in Paris or Lyons, London or Manchester, New York or Boston, — what would their criticism be? Their admiration would hardly keep pace with their amazement, as they scrutinized the spirit of our day. The Athenian would find manufactories and steam-engines far more conspicuous than temples or statues; the Roman would be startled at the subordination of war to finance, and the power of bankers and political economists over military heroes; the ghostly monk would be astonished at the prevalence of luxury among the devotees of Christendom, and the talk of tariffs and corn-laws rather than of monastic orders and Papal bulls; the Puritan would be scandalized at the little apparent acknowledgment of Divine decrees, the dependence of men upon second causes, and their disposition to guard against the ills of life by lightning-rods and insurance-tables instead of fasting and prayer.

Our age is certainly peculiar. Wherein does its peculiarity consist? To say that it differs altogether from other ages would be foolish, for man always possesses the same essential characteristics, and these will always show themselves in one form or another. The fine arts, war, priesthood, Puritanism, all exist now-a-days, and are held in much honor, even in the century so given to the worship of gold. In the several epochs of their ascendancy, the power of wealth was felt always far more than was openly acknowledged. The Athenian and the Roman, who despised the producing classes of men, loved the wealth extorted from their hard labor, and Greece and Rome fell victims to their own rapacity, in their fall verifying the fable, and finding that by their oppression of the working-men they had killed the goose that laid the golden egg. The monk had no objection to church tithes and the amassing of church plate and jewels, nay, did not scruple to wring gold from the heathen by the crusader's sword. The Puritan, in spite of his theological fatalism, has never shown any lack of free-will or self-reliance in the pursuit of gain. The most conspicuous feature of our civilization, however, is the pursuit of wealth in a new and remarkable manner. Its chief agencies are the natural sciences and industrial arts, its ruling spirit is intense competition, its prominent danger is the growth of an industrial feudalism, equally to be deprecated in its bearing upon the affluent few and the impoverished many.

The beautiful arts are enlisted more in the service of private luxury than of devout faith or earnest patriotism. Wars are undertaken, not so much for conquest or proselytism as for opening lucrative markets or sustaining profitable commerce. Men read more anxiously the price-current than the proceedings of church councils. The merchant often lords it over the priest, and the Catholic missionary carries merchandise with his missals to heathen lands. Our New England has changed signally since the days of the Puritans. What would the Puritan autocrat, John Cotton, say, if restored now to the city founded by his companions? How would the relative position of the clergy and the merchants in the nineteenth century compare with what it was in the seventeenth? Who are the men that now lead public opinion?

Evidently the places that offer the highest pecuniary emolument, and are most sought for by our able men, are not the literary professions. The counting-house takes to itself far more than its share of talent. It is no unusual thing for men to leave the bar, and even the bench, for the presidency of financial corporations or the charge of lucrative agencies. Within our limited sphere of observation, we can number as many as six judges who have left the bench for the counting-house. In New England the founding of a school of practical science (nobly done, indeed) has been attended with at least quite as much *éclat* as the establishing of any theological seminary. In the Old World, aristocratic prerogative more and more lowers its pride in presence of wealth. The banker is made a peer, and the power of gold enables even the Jew to win a seat among the legislators of England. The chariots of earls and dukes bring their coronets in humble attendance at the meetings of brokers' boards and railway commissioners. The Church, that boasts its immutable doctrines and priesthood, stoops to note the march of science and the arts. Divines like Wiseman strive to consummate the alliance of the philosophy of our century with the Papal faith; and the clergy of France, eager to enlist in their favor any new power, whether a steam-engine or a liberty-tree, parade with robes and censers at the opening of new railways, and sprinkle with holy water the giant locomotives, determined that Fulton, Watt, and Stephenson shall not work solely for the Devil. The University of Oxford, that Salamanca of England, has been compelled to conform somewhat

to the spirit of the age, and, without renouncing the Peripatetic philosophy, has consented to establish a chair of political economy, whose occupant, Dr. Twiss, distinguishes himself by a recent volume of Lectures sufficiently elaborate and dull. Leading moralists of our day, such as Channing, Chalmers, Whately, and Wayland, have given no small portion of their thought to topics connected with political economy. Popular reform runs constantly into some kind of socialism. One of the most ardent and well-educated schools of reformers, both in Europe and America, bases its system directly upon wealth and industry, and looks for the millennial time from a true association of interests. Poetry moves in something of the same direction. Corn-Law Rhymes have sometimes taken the place of songs of the sea and camp; the woes of poverty, expressed in the Song of a Shirt, have more pathos than the Sorrows of any of our Werthers. They that are regarded by some as the elect prophets of our time claim to be harbingers of an age of industrial order and terrestrial perfection. The disciples of the Swedish seer look for a new heaven upon earth, whilst not a few minds not to be despised, such as the author of the last book on our list, couple the names of Swedenborg and Fourier as the founders of the glorious social order which so fondly haunts their dreams. The spirit of Jacob Boehmen has descended upon an American Crispin, and on the banks of the Hudson an illuminated shoemaker predicts the approach of a new cycle of harmonious labor and equalized wealth, in which the two worlds of nature and spirit shall come together, and man for once stand in true relations to the universe.

All thoughtful persons are deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous social evils of our age, of the luxury and self-indulgence on the one hand, and of the poverty, ignorance, and degradation on the other. Christendom is startled with the new vision of Dives and Lazarus, — the phantom of famine under the very tables of plenty, — the horrors of starvation in an age of unexampled wealth and productiveness. It is beyond dispute, that, in the great countries of the Old World, millions of persons have been visited by the vices, without having shared in the blessings, of modern civilization. It is more than a suspicion, that important classes have not merely been left unaided, but have absolutely been put back, by the tendencies of our civilization. The saddest picture ever presented to us is that given by Sismondi, of the ten-

dency of large farming and manufacturing establishments — by the power of machinery such as can be wielded only by great wealth, and under the pressure of competition that is constantly crowding down wages — to break up small manufacturing and farming enterprises, and reduce the great mass of men to become day-laborers for scanty wages in the employ of great proprietors. The miseries of the agricultural and mechanical laborers surpass our worst anticipations. As yet we have seen little of such wretchedness in our own country. The darkest picture among us is furnished by the condition of the poor in our cities, especially the virtuous poor of that sex whose only protection against pauperism is generally the needle.

Now what are we to say of the civilization of our time, — of its pursuit of wealth, its natural sciences, its industrial arts, its intense competition, its economical problems? Condemn it wholly we hardly can, without arraigning the Providence of God, that has conducted us to the present order of things by methods which could not be prevented, however much for the better they might have been used. The discovery of America and India, the printing-press, the magnetic needle, the application of the inductive method to the natural sciences, the rise of the industrial arts, have brought on a revolution which nothing short of Divine power could avert. It is as idle to think of preserving the old social system now, as it would have been to forge armour and build feudal castles after gunpowder had made the peasant a match for the mailed knight and cannon-shot had put castle-walls to scorn. New means have been furnished of providing men with things which gratify their natural wants. What more certain than that these means will be used, and that modern science and art will be turned to the pursuit of wealth under all its varied forms by all discovered agencies?

There is, indeed, an extreme party in each of the leading divisions of Christendom, which thinks our civilization altogether in the wrong. The ultra Churchman sighs for the return of the Middle Ages, and prefers poverty, quietude, and charity to wealth, industry, and competition. Some specimens remain of the Puritan dogmatist, who look upon the world of nature and art as under the curse of God, and regard life as heavenly in the measure of its contempt of earth. We have known a class of spiritualists, who are jealous of the influence of the outward universe upon the soul, scorn

our modern utilitarianism, and even think it a mistake that men are not content to till the earth with the spade instead of enslaving the horse to the plough. But we, of course, cannot regard the new powers upon which our civilization is based as evil in themselves. Their moral value depends entirely upon the manner in which they are used. The printing-press, the spinning-frame, the steam-engine, the railroad, the magnetic telegraph, and all the agents that so stimulate the pursuit of wealth, are so many means of power placed within our reach by the study of the laws of the Creator. These agents are to be employed by Christians as well as worldlings; for it would surely be folly for the Christian to copy in all things the Apostolic habits, to insist on wearing cloth spun by hand when the product of the loom would save him so much time and means for sacred uses, — folly for him to travel to his post on foot, when he could go so much faster by steam, — folly to send Gospel news by a lumbering chariot, when the world's news flashes to its aim on lightning wings. God claims all our power as his own. To his service belong all our industrial means and agencies, as truly as the faculties and affections of our souls. Nay, there is something grand and subduing in the thought of the vast power over nature now possessed by man. It has been won by the study of the Divine plan in natural laws, and the result should be such as to give us profound religious impressions. In the use of natural agencies, as in the government of the body, a sacred purpose should be ever kept in view, and the natural be made subservient to the spiritual, the earthly to the heavenly. There is certainly nothing in natural science, in industrial art, or in the possession of wealth, that is inherently evil. It is in the agent that employs them, that the good or evil lies.

Herein is the chief difficulty of our civilization. Its spirit is too earthly and sensual, too selfish and discordant. The new powers that have risen out of the earth need to be Christianized as much as ever did the barbaric hordes that of old poured down from their fastnesses in the North. We are ready to allow that enormous evils exist in our time, and the amount of misery and wretchedness that still prevail in the most favored nations of Christendom is absolutely appalling. Surely these things should not be. Our globe readily yields an abundance that might well suffice for all its inhabitants. More of its fruits should be produced, and

those that are produced should be more beneficently distributed. Who shall show us the way to a better state of things, — to a social order more politic, more just, more humane, more Christian? Advisers come to us from three principal quarters. We will take brief counsel with them all.

The political economist has regarded it as his peculiar province to prescribe for social evils. His great deficiency has been his prevalent disposition to think only of the state of the public treasury, or the gross amount of the national wealth; thus caring little for the welfare of the people and the just distribution of wealth. It is encouraging, however, to see so many proofs that the true connection between the wealth of nations and the welfare of the people is attracting more and more regard, and that the political economists of England, who have so signalized themselves by their adherence to the chrematistic or wealth school, are startled by the dangers impending over capital from the desperate misery of the poor, and are beginning to modify their favorite doctrine, that the production of wealth is the great thing to be considered, while its distribution may be left to take care of itself.

Yet the chief value of political economy has lain, thus far, in its negative rather than its positive influence. It has imposed a powerful check on the errors of undue interference with the production and exchange of wealth, alike by its historical lessons, its ample statistics, and its close reasoning, without having done much towards establishing a positive social science. It is true, as Mill remarks in his *Logic*, that it has busied itself chiefly with the statics and neglected the dynamics of society, — has discussed existing tendencies rather than pointed out the needed powers.

Of course it is not our province, nor within our ability, to review the various economical theories, as they are characterized either by nations or by schools. It is well, however, to note their distinctive views, and bear in mind the services of nations and men in the progress of social science. The Italian school, philosophical and reformatory, — the Spanish, exclusive and fiscal, — the French, adventurous and socialistic, — the English, industrial and chrematistic, — the German, metaphysical and universalizing, — there are in our own time reasons to remember all these; and also the labors of the men who have given their names to economical systems, whether Sully, and the Agricultural system, — Mun, and the Mercantile, — Colbert, and the Manufacturing, — Law,

and the Financial, — Turgot, Smith, and the system of *Laissez faire*, — or Malthus, and the Population theory.

Little fruitful as the efforts of political economists have been in establishing a true social order, and discordant as their views have been, there are a few principles that appear now to have the sanction of the leading thinkers of every school.

First, it is allowed that all international warfare is a mutual injury, and that all aggression by one nation upon the rights of another is virtually an assault upon its own customers or market, — an attack upon its own interests. There is something very cheering in the peace doctrines that are now so extensively taught. The ideas once deemed so visionary, when enunciated by St. Pierre, have been taught in almost every portion of Europe from the pages of Say, and have found no champion more able than our own countryman, Carey.

Secondly, the condition of the laborer is now anxiously considered, and methods are sought by which he may be made to share more abundantly in the distribution of the wealth to the production of which he is so essential. Mr. Mill regards the future of the laborer as the great question of social science, and reviews with much wisdom and humanity the means pointed out for elevating the laborer's condition. If he had spoken his mind fully, we doubt not that he would have taken the right ground as to the laws of entail and primogeniture, and condemned a system that tends to exaggerate the evils of monopoly and limit the salutary distribution of wealth. The spirit that animates his "Political Economy" is far more generous than that which breathes through the pages of the "Christian Polity" of Chalmers. The Scotch theologian is right in regarding the religious education of the people as the chief ground of their welfare, but has too much disposition to make light of the tremendous injustice of British legislation.

The third principle acquiesced in by most political economists urges the removal of all restrictions upon industry, hopes more from opening free paths to individual enterprise than from attempting to adjust the interests of labor by legislative control, and looks with chief confidence to the general culture of the people as the means of their social elevation. The *Laissez faire* doctrine, the Let-alone policy, more and more prevails. No great name in political economy advocates the opposite course, except as a temporary ex-

pedient. Mr. Mill would have pauperism removed at once by colonization and other means, yet he trusts to the influence of education, and not to industrial laws, to keep the evil from returning. Political economy thus leaves to other hands the solution of the great social problem. It claims no power to regulate price, that terrible fatality which dispenses affluence or starvation in our day. Blanqui thus closes his portraiture of the state of society in Europe : — “ Behold what singular contrasts ! Political economy is filled with them, and meanwhile a new history full of contrasts still more strange opens upon it, just as this closes.”

We turn now to another quarter, which presents claims to our regard far more ambitious. We will glance at the doctrines of the Socialists. We use the term in no offensive sense, but in its philosophical meaning, as it is now used in Europe. It designates those who aim to reform society by a new social science, and comprehends the most various classes, from the wildest communist to the most careful and scientific philosopher. It takes in Owen and Louis Blanc, St. Simon and Fourier, and certainly does not exclude thinkers like Mill and Lamartine. We will speak, however, of the only school of Socialism that claims completeness, — the school of him whom Blanqui classes as the third of that trio of Utopian economists, Owen, St. Simon, and Fourier. Of the communism of Owen nothing need be said, as it has reduced itself to an absurdity, and the common sense of mankind can never favor a doctrine that robs men of motive and society of wealth, by impairing the inducement to labor in destroying the connection between industry and reward. St. Simonianism has vanished in vapor. Beginning in attempts at industrial reform, it lost itself in theological mysticism and supersublimated sensualism. The only element that it possessed of any permanent value passed into the system of Fourier, — the doctrine that men should be employed according to their capacities, and rewarded according to their work. It did not advocate community of property, although it sought to abolish the right of inheritance and leaned to another kind of communism even more objectionable. It aimed at a fraternal order, whilst it strove to erect a despotic hierarchy over labor and life.*

* The foolish attempt of Louis Blanc to fix an equal rate of wages for all kinds of labor, and to take the industry of the nation under the management of the government, seems to have combined the folly of Owenism

Fourier professed to have discovered the true social science, and his followers urge the claims of his system with a positiveness and confidence that have no parallel in history except in the ranks of that Church which is deemed by its members infallible. We do not propose to enter into a review or criticism of his doctrines, as they have in so many ways been of late brought before the public. The scheme surely is very imposing, and in its pretensions unites a certain Oriental magnificence with the exact forms of European thought; as if the spirit of Vyasa or Manes had entered the mind of Laplace or Babbage, and dreamed their mystical dreams in the formulas of mathematics, and in all the strange imagery furnished by the industrial and scientific wonders of the nineteenth century.

With the general principle of the system of Fourier we have no quarrel. Association is another name for society, and the progress of society is but the development of the principle of association. A Christian township differs from a savage wilderness by the extent to which association is carried and the principle of accommodation takes the place of strife. It is a great thing, that we live in towns and cities, whose roads, squares, schools, halls, churches, have been created by mutual accommodation, and each man for a trifling tax enjoys advantages which cost millions of dollars to provide. The principle that calls man into society calls him to constant progress, and who shall point out a limit to the power of accommodation? Baths, gardens, fountains, scientific halls, musical concerts, might be open to the inhabitants of any considerable community, if they would devote to them a portion of the sum they waste on indulgences that imbrute and impoverish them.

In common with Mr. Mill, we are ready to acknowledge, moreover, the desirableness of admitting labor to a share in the profits of production. Men work better when their pay depends upon their zeal; and the head of the establishment is interested in making his workmen feel themselves partners in his success. The experiment of Leclaire of Paris, praised by the North British Review and by Mr. Mill, is worthy of serious consideration, and the question should be

with the despotism of St. Simonianism. We have no doubt that he was much relieved by his change of position, and is far more comfortable even in his ambiguous standing in the National Assembly than as the Minister of Industry at the palace of the Luxembourg. The best cure for a visionary is to set him to carrying out his visions.

asked, How may laborers most beneficially become partners in the profits of their work? It is very obvious, that, until they are able to take some share in the risk of the business, they cannot expect to claim any greatly increased share in its profits. It is obvious, too, that, so long as laborers are as numerous and ill-educated as at present, they can expect little alleviation, and must work at about the same market price as now, and at best hope to increase their wages by unusual industry and skill. We watch with great interest the progress of the movement that tends to associate the laborer with the employer in the profits of business. What hope, however, can there be of any good result, until labor is elevated morally and intellectually far beyond its present standard, and Christianity has increased the power of the workman over his fortunes by increasing his power over himself, and so acted upon the capitalist as to move him to regard with more solicitude the lot of those less wealthy than he?

But the Associationist deems himself dismissed with faint praise, when his system is spoken of, however favorably, merely in its general principle. He is content with no judgment short of the declaration, that he has hit upon the complete science of society, and all evils would disappear if his method were followed. To the system of Fourier, thus presented, we of course have many grave objections. We have been for several years at some pains to acquaint ourselves with its principles, and have been a constant reader of its leading able organ in this country. It would be difficult to find passages in the Arabian Nights more extravagant than some of Fourier's speculations upon the philosophy of nature, or to select any passages in the whole range of political economy more acute and comprehensive than some of his dissections of our present civilization and statements of needed reform. A man must have more than the maw of Gargantua to swallow Fourierism whole, in all the strangeness of its cosmogony, metempsychosis, boreal crowns, and predicted æons, whilst the acuteness even of Bentham could not fail to receive many of its statements as just.

To us the Associationist theory seems altogether to overestimate the power of external arrangements to transform the dispositions of men, and some of its arrangements and principles, moreover, are morally objectionable. How it is that life in the "phalanstery" is to be free from the usual infirmities and passions of mankind, — how strifes and hatred

are to cease within those favored precincts, and industry and order and affluence are to abound, — we cannot conceive, unless the members of the association are a very select class, already educated under the best Christian influences. How the evils of competition are to be avoided between rival phalansteries, and the fluctuations of prices and the awards of labor kept at a desirable limit, we cannot understand, without presupposing a state of things that cannot exist in a nation not wonderfully pervaded by the blessings of education and its attendant industry and frugality. We object, too, to the theory of human nature favored by Fourier, which ascribes evil so exclusively to circumstance, vice solely to misfortune, vindicates tendencies which Christianity condemns, and takes away most of the significance with which Christianity rebukes sin and reveals its doom. We are willing that virtue should be rendered attractive, but are little disposed to accept the idea, that whatever is really attractive must, under even the best earthly arrangements, be virtuous. We reject utterly the claims of any man to be our moral guide, who is willing, in the boasted comprehensiveness of his theory, to organize illicit love, and among the divisions of the phalanstery to erect into a distinct class those whom he designates as Bayaders and Bayaderes. Under any state of things that we can imagine, the existence of such a body in any thing like social vicinity must be a nuisance utterly to be deprecated. We are aware that our Associationists repel the charge, that such licentiousness has a necessary connection with their essential principles. We are far from considering them as favoring immorality or as responsible for all the opinions of their leader. Still we feel ourselves warranted in speaking of this objectionable point, when we are told that Fourier has expounded the complete social science, and all other teachers are to hide their diminished heads. The whole doctrine of the desirableness of luxury, which lies at the basis of the phalanstery, seems to us very questionable. That a palace more magnificent than Rome or Versailles ever saw can be favorable to the true life of man, we cannot easily believe. While in this world, we cannot so entirely repudiate the self-denial of the cross, nor do we think it well to tell men striving for their daily bread and cheered by hopes of reasonable success, that they ought to feast better than kings and revel in every indulgence, and with less should not be content.

Yet we rejoice at the agitation of the leading questions raised by the Associationists. They stand on ground mostly free from the evils of communism, and are defenders of the rights of property and the connection between labor and reward. They have called attention to many crying evils of our civilization, and have thrown much light upon the philosophy of society. We hope much from the discussions started by them regarding attractive industry, the division of labor, the evils of hostile competition, the power of union, the wastefulness of isolated households, the remedies for the seven scourges of mankind. We welcome the many indications of a tendency towards friendly combination, such as guarding against losses by fire and shipwreck, and towards the whole system of insurance in case of property, health, and life. Who can tell how far the principle of guarantism, as the Associationists call it, is to be carried? Or who will limit the application of the principle to protection against loss, and refuse to extend it to the attainment of positive gain? We look with much hope in the direction opened by the school of Fourier for the results of judiciously combined labor, that shall facilitate productive industry, prevent waste, and insure a just distribution of the goods of life. Not for any ordinary purpose has Divine Providence furnished man with his mighty armament of industry. The gigantic powers of art, that have been discovered within the last century, await a true order of society for their worthy use. Only in true association can man wield fitly such mighty weapons. They are arms, not for isolated individuals, but for combined numbers, — for what Swedenborg might call, in a lower than his customary sense, the Grand Man.

We are to follow our best light, not doubting that the Providence that has brought our race to such interesting developments will open new ages of blessing upon its path. That the precise schemes of our Associationist friends will be realized, we have little faith. It is enough to say of them, that they have been most earnest to call attention to the great principles of true order, and that every step in human progress must exhibit something of the harmony of which they dream. They must bide their time, and give up the folly of thinking that all efforts to elevate mankind are of no avail when disconnected with the formulas of their system. We must be excused from believing, with the

author of the work on Swedenborg and Fourier, that the Christianity of the New Testament is a sealed book without his mystical commentary. He thinks it not impossible, apparently, that Christianity may soon appear in a new development quite as marked as that in which Athanasius fixed the doctrine, Leo led the organization, and Hildebrand completed the structure. We wait to see what Hildebrand will arise to carry out the doctrines of Swedenborg and the organic laws of Fourier. We can hardly believe that any genius less stern and despotic could succeed in reducing to practice a system which, unless a miracle should enable it to harmonize all discordant elements and subdue all refractory wills, must be enforced by commanding power such as of old made kings tremble and thrones fall. Where is the autocrat who is to erect his central palace on the shores of the Bosphorus, and dispense order to the nations with a majesty of which Constantine never dreamed?

The followers of Fourier profess their readiness to test their principles by the success of a fair experiment. We wait the result of an actual phalanstery to free us from the dilemma in which their pretensions place us,—the doubt whether their system will suffer more from want of completeness in attracting men to industrial order, or of efficiency in keeping them in subordination to the established rule. The author of the book to which we have just referred does not expect his vision of the Spherical Regency, Universal Harmony, Renovated Globe with its Boreal Crowns, to be realized for centuries; yet he urges the necessity of immediately starting a model phalanstery. The success of the experiment would, with most persons, decide the merits of the system. Until success crowns the effort, we must assign to Fourier a place in Utopia with Plato and Sir Thomas More.

We take counsel now of the Christian moralist, and ask what solution he can give of the social problem of our age. In all ages Christianity has concerned itself actively with the social condition of man, and the Church has never utterly forgotten to enjoin mercy upon the powerful, and offer comfort to the feeble. The Apostolic Church, in the enthusiasm of its first love, had property in common for a time, although the act of surrender was purely voluntary, and each man was left free to give or withhold his own. Afterwards more judicious counsels prevailed, and Christians, as they increased

in numbers, shunned the dangers of communism by relieving the wants of the needy through contributions that were based upon the idea of the right of individual property, under a sense of responsibility to God. We need not name the social revolutions produced by Christianity, — the rebuke of oppression, — the emancipation of the slave, — the elevation of the laborer, — the defence of the feeble, — the protection of woman, — the abolition of polygamy, — the care of the poor, — the religious education of the people. It is obvious, that, without entering into any ambitious historical disquisitions, the experience of any Christian denomination is enough to prove the power of Christianity to remove the worst social evils. Alloyed as our sectarian religions may be with baser elements, it is undeniable that the rise of the various denominations has been attended with a constant development of social virtue, power, and prosperity. Who will deny that the history of Christianity constantly illustrates the connection between Christian principle and good social economy, or that Wesley, Bunyan, Fox, and such minds, have done far more to bring on a true civilization than any of our boasting socialists? Hardly a more interesting book could be written than one upon the political and social economy of Christianity, as shown in the history of the Christian Church in its various communions. It would not fail to prove that the religion of the Bible elevates its receivers both in social welfare and in spiritual life, and that their temporal as well as spiritual prosperity becomes a blessing to others as well as to themselves. Dr. Chalmers deserves great credit for the power with which he urges the necessity of Christianity to a people in order to elevate them. He paints with a masterly hand the influence which a Christian purpose at once exerts upon a household and upon a community.

How can it be otherwise? A man's welfare depends far more upon his purposes than upon any of the accidents of fortune. Character controls the outward lot more than the outward lot controls character. What can act more beneficially upon character than a cordial recognition of the God of the New Testament, and of the obligations and privileges of that heavenly kingdom revealed with Divine authority by our Saviour? Wherever Christianity is sincerely welcomed, a radical change takes place in the life of the individual and the habits of the community. The plainest Christian virtues; such as chastity, sobriety, frugality, peace, have more to do

with promoting the true prosperity of a family or town than any specifics of politicians or theories of socialists. Where these virtues fail, the fertility of Eden would become a curse. Where these exist, the ungenial soil whose native products are little more than granite and ice becomes an Eden in peace and plenty. How powerful is the Christian idea of domestic purity and union ! An adulterous people, like the Parisians, have not yet learned that there is in the Bible a secret of political economy far more efficient than can be found in any of the roseate speculations of their theorists. The Christian family, honest, industrious, temperate, kindly, seeking worldly good with a due regard to moral principles and eternal aims, is always a source of power and blessing to the community, consecrating mediocrity or affluence by a spirit that shows how much of the kingdom of heaven may exist on this our earth.

We are well aware of the indifference and worldliness that infect the Christian Church. Yet we have never lived in a place in which the Christian Church was not a centre of light, love, and power to the whole community. We have never yet seen the church that did not concern itself for the relief of the poor and the instruction of the ignorant, — that did not aim to impress the rich with a sense of their responsibility to God, and to extend to the poor relief in sickness, and to their children the blessings of an education which is better than gold. The religion of the Bible, whenever dispensed in its freedom, has been the most powerful stimulus to mental energy. The worth which it attaches to the soul lies at the basis of its zeal for education, alike intellectual, moral, and religious. What can be more diffusive and auspicious than the principle of such popular education ? Wherever its aid is denied, either by priestcraft or despotism, crying social evils are found. Myriads of uneducated laborers, able to give only the rudest kind of toil for bread, are kept in prosperous times but little above the starving point, and the least fall in the financial tide sinks them into misery.

However imperfectly carried out, the spirit of Christianity, as regarded by Christians generally, tends to meet the very dangers of our civilization, without neutralizing its power. Not despising wealth, it honors its true use. Not condemning the agencies of science and art, it views them in their moral and religious bearings. Without wishing to destroy the competition which is such a stimulus to industry, it strives

to modify its spirit and overrule its tyranny by that coöperative good-will which is the highest motive in social action and the true basis of social order. If any thing like a true Christian heart prevailed throughout Christendom, we should have very little fear for the civilization of the nineteenth century, with all its wealth, science, art, enterprise.

But here the great difficulty presents itself. Can the Christian spirit prevail in the midst of such social discords and imperfect institutions? Must we not reform the social system, in order to act upon the individual character, rather than hope to reform the individual character, in order to act upon the social system? We reply, that both aims are to be earnestly kept in view, but that first comes the duty of the individual, and that we cannot hope to do much for social reform until they who would guide public opinion and morals are themselves guided by a right spirit. The Gospel method is the true one, aiming as it does first at the individual conscience, — through this at the social system, — then back from the social system at the individuals under its influence.

The question, then, comes, What is the duty of the Christians of our age in reference to the existing social system? They are, of course, to endeavour to guide their private lives by Christian principles. But they cannot do this without exhibiting an example that either favors or condemns the manners and morals of their time and neighbourhood. If they are candid, moreover, they cannot avoid expressing an opinion upon the prevalent policy in business, legislation, and society among communities and nations. What shall their example and opinion be? or in other words, what shall be their scheme of social reform?

It is easy enough to see and say what it should not be. It should not be the weakly sentimentalism that follows an impulse wherever it leads, without looking to see whether the end sought would be gained rather than lost by such a course. We want wisdom, as well as compassion, to enable us to prescribe for social evils. Poor is the practice that would allow the patient to perish, from a pity so tender as to shrink from giving pain by proper surgery. Wretched the philanthropy that would set a bounty upon crime, by treating the transgressor better than the innocent victim. Dismal the charity which, in its indiscriminate alms-giving, cherishes the very idleness and improvidence whose sufferings it would alleviate.

Shunning such sentimentalism, Christians are obviously called upon to examine present institutions in the light of Christian love, and to use their best endeavours to do away with the evil and favor the needed good. Let this course be followed, and there will be little occasion for complaining of the want of a "reform spirit." Every heart and every community will be called to the bar of judgment, and a more searching public opinion will be formed than any that is cherished among the agitators who would turn the world upside down in the fever of their one idea. A sober, judicious, Christian sentiment would be created, that would not go long without marked effect upon society, and even upon legislation.

What view are Christians to take of wealth in its relations to poverty? We say without reserve, that Christianity, instead of making war upon property, is to attach to it a yet higher value as the means of beneficence, and to labor at once to set a moral limit to its unjust accumulation, and lend new encouragement to the due employment of whatever is justly accumulated. Let the moral limit be set to accumulation, and immediately no gain is sanctioned which is purchased at the expense of justice or humanity. A stigma at once attaches to the overgrown fortunes that are won by fraud, oppression, or any demoralizing traffic. Apply Christian principle to the employment of wealth, and straightway a new power is carried into the business world, and capitalists are held responsible for the worthy use of their means as stewards of the Divine bounty. They are not, indeed, required to do as every sentimental philanthropist may demand, and pour out money like water for Quixotic enterprises or blind alms-giving. They are to employ their means in such a way as to develop the highest and utmost good among the people within their sphere, especially by giving them motive and opportunity for honorable and profitable labor, and encouraging them to improve their minds and hearts. They are to remember that men are best helped when best taught to help themselves, and should strive so to use their capital as to encourage the most laudable industry. Thus wealth becomes a public blessing, and the capitalist is the poor man's friend. He endows schools, hospitals, colleges, churches, and opens fields of efficient labor in places otherwise barren or desolate.

All wastefulness should be condemned, and of course the wasteful luxury that tends to enervate mind and body and squander the goods of life. In all expenditure, the money

expended and the commodity purchased ought both to be so used as to swell the amount of genuine good. This principle would strike at the root of the too prevalent forms of luxury, — the feasting, drinking, and idle show, which, although they may seem to befriend the trader and laborer by purchasing his goods or toil, yet give a pernicious example, besides turning the enterprise and industry of the producing classes into channels not beneficial to society. This principle would strike at the root of the stately ostentation of the Old World, which so grinds the faces of the poor. It would at once forbid men of large landed possessions to keep their land in haughty unproductiveness, thinking more of broad parks and rich game-preserves than of giving employment to the needy. It would grant small praise to such as the proud Duke of Buccleuch, who kneels on velvet cushions to repeat the litanies of a tyrannical church, and in almost the same breath refuses to the mass of the people of his dukedom a few rods of ground for a temple in which to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience; small praise to the queenly Duchess of Sutherland, who trains sixty children of the parish poor to chant responses at her daughter's bridal, and yet drove from their ancestral home fifteen thousand of her Highland clansmen, to turn their ancient villages into a pasture for a hundred and thirty thousand sheep.

The great question of pauperism would be settled in a new way, — by the method of prevention, so much better than cure. No visionary philanthropy need be invoked to break the connection between labor and reward, and to increase pauperism in the attempt to relieve its distresses. The poverty which comes from misfortune should never be left desolate, whilst the utmost motive, both of fear and hope, should be brought to the aid of industry, the encouragement of labor. Popular education, the abolition of the laws of primogeniture and entail, habits of temperance and frugality, will work better than any poor-laws. The more generous course will prove the wiser one, and the result will be, that, instead of regarding poverty and starvation as a necessary check on population, we shall find that industry and enterprise are the best safeguard, not only by adding to the amount of goods produced, but also by lessening the number of early and improvident marriages, and thus keeping down the ratio of population to food. Although far from adopting the Malthusian theory of the perils of excessive population, we can-

not but see great force in the favorite idea of Chalmers, that, as the estimate of the essentials of living is enlarged, and the laudable enterprise of the people is stimulated, the greater will be their productive industry, the more prudent the economy of home and the arrangements of the family. Poverty is prolific in offspring ; educated competence tends to set bounds to the passion which, when unchecked, is as culpable as any form of intemperance, and never fails to bring ill health to the mother and embarrassment to the home.

The grim form of crime stares us in the face not seldom in connection with poverty. Here is a subject for Christian action that can only be named now. Well may the proper treatment of criminals, with the hope of their reform, be one of the exciting topics of our age. Yet the main office of Christianity is the prevention, rather than the cure, of crime. Here the school and the church are mighty, and should be mightier still. New power will be added to their lessons, when business and legislation are conducted upon true principles, — when the crimes of theft and fraud are not virtually sanctioned by commercial trickery, and crimes of violence are not miniature imitations of wars waged between Christian nations. New power will come from their example, when hierarchies and sects pay as much heed to the ethics of the Gospel as they do now to their dynasties and dogmas. The annals of crime would be in a few years signally reduced, if the conscience of Christendom were alive to that one vice which is as intimately connected with the problems of political economy as of domestic comfort, — wasting, as it does, the nutritious grains needed to feed the hungry in manufacturing draughts that destroy at once dignity of character and competence of condition. Nay, every question of moral reform is also a question of political economy. What topic is more intimately connected with the destiny of our whole civilization, alike in its financial and its moral interests, than war ; and what evil is there in regard to which the general conscience is so indifferent ?

In arraying the forces which are to meet the dangers that threaten our age, we give the first place — the post of honor and of duty — to the Christian Church. We know that there are those who scout the idea of applying Christianity directly to the reform of social evils, and who insist upon caring only for the inner man, and leaving external matters to take care of themselves. But Christianity, although act-

ing first upon the soul, desires to act also from within outward, and cannot do this without attacking evil habits and institutions. Our Lord claims all of life as his own, and to the kingdom of God the jurisdiction of the whole earth belongs. Religion becomes either formal, or dogmatic, or dreamy, when it loses sight of direct practical aims. The Church, which is ever to be militant here below, starts at shadows or sinks into torpor, when it ceases to face prevalent wickedness and gird itself for the assault. Its true posture towards social reform can and should be kept without the surrender of its own prerogative, or the sacrifice of its own dignity. Its educated ministers, its hallowed worship and ordinances, its sacred times and seasons, all may be duly honored, and the needs of the age may be nevertheless met. Nay, the common worship of the sanctuary is never so interesting and edifying, as when the Gospel that is everlasting is preached in reference to present wants, and shown to be as true to-day as it was yesterday, and will be for ever.

Next to the force of the Church comes the force of the school. To the extension and elevation of the means of education we need not say that all Christians should give their cordial support. Even in this favored land, education is in its infancy. The culture of the whole man is not duly studied, and privileges such as are common with us in New England are denied to millions. Science has but just begun to go hand in hand with art. A more generous scientific and practical education will open new fields of wealth, and bring nobler aims before the enterprising youth of our nation. Already learning has been made attractive, and the schools of religion and of science are in many cases winning anew the love of their pupils. Ere long, some decided industrial results must come from the numbers of well-taught persons who are thronging into all the chief occupations. That will be a happy time, when woman receives her due culture, and is no longer doomed to an enfeebled body, contracted mind, and stinted means of livelihood. It is for Christian people to elevate the standard, and cheer on the workers in the cause of true education.

Christians thus faithful to themselves and the cause of sound learning will not fail of having a marked influence upon the industrial condition of the nation. Our clergy will be more ready than they have been, and are, to study the science of social economy in its highest bearings, and thus

meet the great questions of our time with something more than lachrymose pathos or sentimental hope. The doctrine of development in its Papal form we are little prone to accept; but sure it is, that the law of good-will and the doctrines of social harmony must, if carried out, lead to new and interesting results, and society, when pervaded by Christian principles, must be expected to exhibit arrangements quite as marked as those which followed upon the adoption of a priestly basis and dogmatic creed as embodied in the mediæval system, — quite as marked with power, and far more fruitful in blessing. The doctrine at the basis of so much of our political economy, that all questions of business must be argued wholly upon material grounds, will not stand a moment's fair investigation. Moral law is by right supreme, and its authority over the world of profit and loss, labor and wages, cannot be denied. If men say that business is business, and the current of business can no more be changed by moral influences than water can be made to run up hill, Christians may also say that the current of right principle cannot be reversed, and that, by the action of that orb which is the emblem of the Divine benignity, water does sometimes climb above the mountains to fertilize the earth in its fall. We believe that that power which is deemed so inexorable, the law of prices, is intimately connected with moral considerations, and that the wages of labor, although dependent upon the relation of the demand to the supply, in consequence of that dependence are acted upon by every thing that makes the demand more generous and rational and the supply more efficient and valuable. We do not believe, when men say that wages must constantly decrease, and there is no help for the system which dooms an industrious woman to drudge all day and half the night for mere bread and fuel, that they have gone to the end of political economy or to the beginning of Christianity.

What forms industrial improvement is ultimately to take we do not profess to decide. We cannot hope for the discovery of any social mechanism so perfect as to regenerate man and society by an ingenious apparatus of circumstances. Yet we believe that the day draws near, when society will exhibit the power of friendly coöperation above chaotic rivalry, and, without destroying the salutary check which competition imposes upon indolence, will have far more of the Gospel emulation that "provokes unto love and good works."

Our own country is a land of boundless opportunities. We may hope and strive for the best.

The language of hope is always wiser than that of despair, alike in reference to an age and an individual. Christians have surely great ground of hope in respect to our present civilization. We ought to beware of estimating the character of our age solely by an ideal standard. We are not to call its civilization evil, because it does not come up to our philosophical Utopia or our Christian pattern. Let each thing be compared with its own kind, — the age that now is with the ages that have been. Take this view, and there is more ground for hopeful enterprise than for desponding quietism or morose complaint. The Divine Providence has intrusted to us vast powers for uses far nobler than have been generally recognized, and those powers must be the basis of a new order of things. To God they belong, and to him they should be consecrated. Let them be wielded with any portion of that wisdom and energy which of old tamed the Northern barbarians into submission to the Cross, and the race of Titans that have risen up and borne themselves so proudly as sons of earth shall become the children of God. This nineteenth century and its succeeding ages shall stand in high preëminence above the lauded times of mediæval faith or Puritan dogmatism. A Pericles and a Julius Cæsar might admire its beautiful tastes and masculine energies, whilst a Bernard or a Calvin would not deny its claims to spiritual purity and devout faith.

S. O.

ART. V. — COMMON SCHOOL EDUCATION.*

WE are late in our notice of Mr. Mann's Report, which was published in the early part of the last session of the Massachusetts legislature. Distributed at that time over all parts of our Commonwealth, and eagerly read, as have been all his Reports, it has stood in no need of the friendly office of a review to bespeak for it public attention. Meanwhile it has been exerting, we doubt not, a strong influ-

* *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Education; together with the Eleventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: W. B. Fowle. 1848. 8vo. pp. 135.

once in awakening and deepening general interest in the great cause of which it treats, and we are equally confident that its beneficent agency in this direction will be prolonged. This Report has some features which distinguish it from all its predecessors ; and a recent second perusal has prompted us to submit the remarks which we shall now present.

It appears to have been, from the first, a leading object with Mr. Mann to make his annual communication to the public a vehicle, not only for a view of the educational movements of each year, but also for the discussion of some important topic closely connected with the great interest which he has had in charge. In this we think he has acted wisely. His Reports, which would otherwise have been mere ephemeral productions, have now a permanent value, and form of themselves no mean library, which all the friends of education will prize.

In the Report before us, the point discussed is implied in the question, — How much can be accomplished by the best education that we can command ? Supposing all the children in our Commonwealth to be brought under the influence of our common schools, and supposing those schools to be made as good as we now have the means of making them, what percentage of young persons can be made useful and exemplary men and women, and what percentage must be pronounced “ irreclaimable and irredeemable ” ? The question seems to demand an arithmetical exactness which it is obviously impossible to reach. Nevertheless, the inquiry is one of great importance. Want of faith is at the bottom of all feeble efforts and half-way measures. In every moral enterprise, the first thing to be done is to see clearly just what we can do. Earnestness, enthusiasm, self-sacrifice must be the fruit of faith in possible results ; and in the case of education, who can doubt that tenfold greater efforts would have been made, had not the public believed that an indefinite, but vast, amount of ignorance and vice must necessarily exist in every community, and must be the fatal bequest of one generation to another ? The Commonwealth can have no greater benefactor than is he who proves that such a notion as this is a delusion ; who shows that it is possible to rescue nearly all from darkness and crime ; who presents our beloved State to us under the image of a venerated parent, throwing her protecting and blessing arms around all her children, so that none of them shall be lost ; and who

tells us in plain and solemn words, that; if by means now in our power we can secure such a result, we are "criminally responsible," if we do not.

In order to make this impression on the public mind, Mr. Mann adopted a plan which was both original and interesting as an experiment, and is now in its result fruitful of encouragement and hope. Preparing a circular setting forth the inquiries and conditions which we have indicated above, he sent it to eight teachers in different parts of our country, who have been distinguished for their long experience and general success, desiring them to indicate, as the result of their observation and experience, what percentage of children may be trained up so that "their existence, on going out into the world, would be a benefit, and not a detriment, an honor, and not a shame, to society." The answers of these eight teachers, covering twenty-seven closely printed pages, are given in the body of the Report.

It is not our intention to notice these answers at length. We will content ourselves with observing, that they appear to us to be remarkable documents, and well worth the notice of both the theologian and the philanthropist. Mr. Mann states, that the writers, "all of them without exception, are well-known believers in a theological creed one of whose fundamental articles is the depravity of the natural heart." It was to such only that he sent his circular, through no disrespect, as he adds, "towards the many able and eminent teachers of a different religious faith," but because he "wished to know what was deemed to be practicable by those who saw the greatest difficulties to be overcome." Under these circumstances, the letters present replies such as we should not have expected. We have been agreeably surprised in reading them. With entire unanimity, speaking from an experience varying from ten to forty years, and in terms remote from any ambiguity or hesitancy, they unite in saying; — Bring all children into your public schools, keep them there six hours a day for ten months every year, between the ages of four and sixteen, and under the intellectual and moral training of the best teachers that can be procured, and the result will be not more than two *per cent.* of incorrigible children, as five of these writers say, while three of them agree in thinking that every child might be trained up to a life of usefulness and virtue.

It is but justice to the writers to add, that they do not

regard such statements as bringing their orthodoxy under any suspicion. They take pains to discriminate between a religious character, which is not, as they think, wholly a work of education, and a life of morality, though the latter be habitual and from principle. It is this alone which they think can be secured to the great extent they have indicated.

We have heard some complaints made of the course Mr. Mann has taken in respect to these letters. We ourselves think that the Secretary has held up the religious opinions of one class of teachers in a stronger contrast with those of another class than was needed for the sake of his argument ; while his representation of the doctrinal belief of the writers is, it must be confessed, somewhat unguarded and exaggerated. He was here on ground aside from his usual track of thought, and aside, too, from the general purpose of his office ; and that strong and fervent pen of his here, as in some other cases we can name, waxed a little too warm. But we impute to him none but the fairest, broadest, and most disinterested motives ; and we thank him for the very valuable and important testimonies he has presented to the public in confirmation of the leading positions of his Report.

Coming from the men by whom they were written, how full of encouragement are these letters to all friends of education, to all instructors of youth, and to all Sunday-school teachers ! We will not here enter into any metaphysical distinction between a religious character, and a life of usefulness and virtue, habitual and founded on principle. By those who see that distinction most clearly, it must yet be admitted that the latter is made, by God's grace, the plain and almost sure channel to the former. What an argument, then, have we here for greater faith in the efficacy of wise, earnest, and persevering training ! When we are told what results they confidently predict, who see the greatest obstacles to be overcome, who yet speak from the experiments which they have been making for years upon the docility and improvability of a nature which they believe to be corrupt, what ought to be our zeal and our faith and our confidence, who cherish more generous views of man's native tendencies and capabilities ! These writers may have expressed themselves too strongly, through a natural and pardonable exaggeration, arising from the influence of a loved and life-followed profession. We do not think that they have allowed enough for the counteracting influences of home, and the

whole circle of associations out of school. Mr. Mann himself has also, as we think, fallen into error here. Nor is this all. The experience of these eight teachers has been mostly confined to private schools, the pupils of which, with their parents and their home influences, have all been of a grade much higher than would be the average in our common schools. But make all the deduction which the case reasonably demands. Let it be, that, in the use of the best educational means in our power, five *per cent.* of all children are incorrigible and irreclaimable. Can we train up ninety-five *per cent.* to become useful and virtuous members of society? Is this result within the limits of our power, just as surely as the farmer may raise seventy-five bushels of corn to the acre, if he will only take the pains? Does, then, the Commonwealth lift up and bless this proportion of her children? If she does not, "then the State itself," to use the language of the Report, "becomes a culprit, and, before the great moral Judge who is seated on the throne of the universe, it must stand a spectacle of shame and guilt, like one of its own inferior culprits before its own judicial tribunals."

The remainder of this Report is devoted to remarks on the practicability of fulfilling the presupposed conditions, — namely, that all children be brought under regular intellectual and moral training, and, further, that they be placed under the care of enlightened and faithful teachers. We regret that we have not space to dwell upon Mr. Mann's earnest words. In the present position of educational reform, these are the two points which claim chief attention. How sad it is to think of the great number of youth in all our large towns and cities who never attend school at all, or, at best, only with long intervals of absence, — who, in the midst of a civilized and Christian community, are growing up in heathen darkness and savage barbarity, and are sure to become hereafter the inmates of our jails and prisons! Cannot something be done to rescue and save them? Has not the community a right to protect itself against their acts of violence and crime by some compulsory provisions requiring them to be trained up to an honest and virtuous life? It was the just remark of Dr. Paley, that "to send an uneducated child into the world is little better than to turn out a mad dog or a wild beast into the streets"; and surely the time must come when the State will not permit this to be done.

As to the other point, the chief obstacle will be the ex-

pense, first, of training up an order of teachers who shall be thoroughly furnished for their work, and secondly, of raising their calling to the dignity of a liberal profession, by offering a compensation ample enough to secure the services of our wisest and best men. But on this point we will not despair. A hundred millions of dollars thrown away in two years, on an unnecessary and wicked war, have done something, we believe, to make the public reflect upon other and better objects to which their treasures may be devoted. A Massachusetts man undoubtedly loves his money. But we will remember that there is no cause for which a Massachusetts man gives his money more freely than for education. We will remember another thing. A Massachusetts man is good at a bargain ; and if it can be proved that he can save ninety-five hundredths of what he now pays for police and prisons, for drunkenness and crime, he may well submit to have his school-tax doubled and trebled, and count it "a good operation" besides.

We cannot conclude this notice without expressing our gratitude that we live under the banner of a Commonwealth which, through publicly supported officers, is seeking to carry on such a great reform as that which this Report contemplates. Her schools, and hospitals, and institutions for reform, constitute her greatest glory ; and to the long list of these, to which she now points with pride, another is soon to be added, — the State Reform School at Westboro', which is to commence its beneficent operations this autumn. Like a wise and devoted mother, she pities and provides for those of her children who are insane ; she undertakes to give eyes to the blind, and ears to the deaf ; she seeks to reclaim youthful wanderers ; nor does she despair even of the hardened criminal, whom she kindly strives to win back to virtue and peace. And now she asks, — Why need any wander ? Why need any turn their feet to the ways of sin and woe ? If we make a good training sure to every child, may not all be saved, to become useful and happy ? May God's gracious favor rest upon the State that has put forth these questions ! Where, in the history of the whole world, is the other State which has ever asked them, or which has conceived the hope they imply ? They will work in the public mind, they will lead by and by to better plans, they will train up a better generation ; and the Commonwealth which has been faithful to her capabilities and trusts will find fulfilled

to her the words, — “ Her children rise up and call her blessed !”

Nor can we close without a parting word in reference to the Secretary of the Board of Education, who is soon to retire from the post which he has so ably filled. We well remember the surprise that was expressed, twelve years ago, that a man of his gifts and hopes should accept of the unknown and untried office to which he was then appointed. But in his hands the office soon became conspicuous and of no doubtful utility ; and it is now difficult to conceive in what walk of life he could have rendered more effective service to the public, or have built up a higher and purer monument to his own fame. On turning over the leaves of the ten volumes of the School Journal which he has edited, and the eleven long and elaborate Reports which he has made, we are surprised at the extent of his vast and multifarious labors. The bare titles of the subjects which he has discussed with singular interest and ability would fill more than one of our pages. And this has occupied only a part of his time, — the remaining portion having been laboriously devoted to lectures on education, teachers’ institutes, normal schools, and careful personal examination of various literary institutions at home and abroad, besides an extensive and burdensome correspondence. The fruits of his labors are seen in a general improvement of our whole school system, to a degree beyond what the most sanguine could have expected. He has made his mark on his times. He has, in effect, created an office which we shall now regard as indispensable to some of our best interests, and the light of which has inspired other States with a desire to secure similar blessings for themselves. We are reconciled to his removal to a wider sphere of duty, by remembering that he will not sink the character of a great public benefactor in that of a mere politician, but will carry with him that high and courageous pursuit of the right, which is needed nowhere more than in the position which he is now called to fill.

H. A. M.

ART. VI — THE TENDENCIES AND THE WANTS OF THEOLOGY.

[A Discourse, delivered before the Alumni of the Divinity School of the University at Cambridge, July 14, 1848. By GEORGE W. BURNAP.]

IN selecting a subject to present to you to-day, I have been governed in my choice by a desire to occupy your attention with some topic of immediate interest and practical importance. It is appropriate, as I conceive, to the occasion, to take some general view of the great work in which we are engaged, or the circumstances of the age in which we live, that we may learn the duties of that brief hour in which we are called to work in our Master's vineyard. I have therefore chosen to direct your thoughts to the Tendencies and the Wants of Theology in our country at the present time.

By theology, I mean the doctrines which are taught in the pulpits of this land from Sabbath to Sabbath, as constituting the sum and essence of the Christian religion. What that theology is and shall be is a subject of vital, paramount importance. The theology that prevails in any country becomes no mean part of the basis of all opinion, the estimate of all character, the law of all duty, the principle of all law, the mould of all development; and gives its shade and its coloring to the very texture of every-day life. Individuals, communities, nations, are formed by it. It is a plastic power, which works more subtly and more mightily than climate or latitude, than soil or atmosphere. The Catholic is the same at the frozen pole and under the burning line. The Calvinist exhibits the same individual characteristics among the hills of Scotland and the ever-blooming vales of the tropics. He, then, who wields the influence of theology exercises the mightiest control over the condition and the destiny of man. He who teaches men religion is placed at the fountain-head of power. In this sense it was, that Jesus promised his disciples that they should "sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." * This they were to do, by becoming the religious teachers of the world.

* Mr. Burnap used as a text the words of Christ contained in Matthew xix. 28: — "Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

They went forth, as he commanded, and fulfilled his prophecy of sitting with him on his throne, by promulgating his truth.

But Christianity, in converting the Pagan world, and passing into the hands of those who had been educated under Pagan influences, was modified by the very Paganism it subdued. The disciple of Christ and the teacher of the world became in some measure transformed into the Pagan priest. He clothed himself in the Pagan's splendid robes. His humble ministrations became a gorgeous pageant, and the Jewish synagogue, in which Christianity was born, soon found itself changed into a magnificent temple. Forms and ceremonies took up the time of public assembly, and crowded out the great office of Christ and Christianity, the religious instruction of the world.

After centuries of perversion and mistake, the Christian minister in this country is at last restored to his true sphere, in becoming once more the religious teacher of his fellow-men. A higher sphere his ambition cannot ask ; for in so doing he sits with Christ on his throne, — he wields a spiritual dominion greater, more absolute and enduring, than any other. He performs the vital and controlling function of thinking for the multitude, while they are absorbed in the cares of the world. They come together on the only day of leisure and rest, to be, in a great measure, the passive recipients of the doctrines, the opinions, and the sentiments which he chooses to inculcate. Who, then, can measure or estimate the extent of his power ?

But what do the ministers of religion teach ? Not simple Christianity, for then they would all preach the same thing. They preach a theology, each after the forms and creed of the church to which he belongs, — a system of doctrines made up in part from traditionary interpretations of the Bible, and partly from the deductions of human reason, the philosophical speculations of men upon the nature of God and the phenomena of human nature and human life.

The theology which now reigns has been the work of ages. Every powerful and original thinker, since the age of the Apostles, has contributed to it. While the Church maintained its unity, the elements of which its theology was made up were gradually incorporated into it by the action of successive councils. Since the Reformation, it has been dispersed about in the different creeds of the different

fragments into which the Church has been broken. These creeds have been upheld by the arm of the civil power, till the formation of the American Constitution severed the connection of church and state, and left articles of faith to stand or fall on their own merits at the bar of reason.

Freedom is always a long time possessed before it is felt or exercised. The shadowy chain of habit long continues to bind the limbs, after the real one is taken off. And in this land of entire religious liberty, it was not till the commencement of the present century that the great work of the *revision* of theology may be said to have been undertaken. That work is now going on, and nothing can stop it. The institution whose graduates I this day address may be said to have led the way. Here have been asserted and carried out the great principles of the Reformation, — “the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the right of private judgment.”

In consequence of the spirit of investigation awakened in this country since the commencement of this century, a great change has passed over its theology. The sternest advocates of the dogmas of the past do not pretend to deny or disguise the fact. All feel the movement, which, like a mighty undercurrent, is sweeping them onward, they know not whither. There is not an ecclesiastical body in this land which has not felt the impetus, and been moved from the dead stagnation of implicit faith. All churches have been divided by it into two parties, — one advocating progress, the other well satisfied to let things remain as they are. In each of these parties, there are those who are disposed, as usual, to go to extremes. On one side, there are those who fear and refuse to examine, lest every thing be overthrown. On the other, there are not a few who suspect every part of theology, because a portion has been discovered to be unsound. One chooses to go back to the dogmas of the past, and receive and inculcate them unexamined; the other has become skeptical by finding so much that is untrue, and therefore is in danger of landing in total unbelief. This brings me to the subject which I mean to discuss before you this day, — the tendencies and the wants of theology in this country at the present time.

These, as I have already intimated, are two, — one towards virtual deism, by the rejection of every thing supernatural in the Bible, the other to a passive reception of the theological dogmas of the ages that are gone.

The deism of the present day differs from that of ages

past, by professing to be preëminently religious. It resolves Christianity into something greater than itself, by identifying it with those universal religious convictions which pervade humanity, and underlie and sustain all creeds and all forms of worship. By the canons of this unwritten and universal theology it proceeds to judge of Christianity itself; to alter and amend, as the case may be; to discard its miraculous testimony, that it may become the more credible; to modify some of its fundamental principles, that it may not be left behind by the manly wisdom of this mature age of the world; to prune away its rites and ceremonies, as being too unspiritual for this refined and intellectual period. Its piety is pronounced Judaic and superstitious, its humanity barbarian, its social organization unjust, its wisdom superficial, its light darkness.

Another portion of the Christian world are shocked, and justly shocked, by such propositions. They shrink back appalled by the consequences of such reckless speculation, and are disposed to consult the safety of religion by arresting all theological inquiry. They become ashamed of the results of Protestantism, and almost repent of the Reformation itself. They are half disposed to say, — “Let us go back into the arms of Mother Church, and take refuge from doubt and perplexity in an implicit and unquestioning faith. In the dark recesses of that ancient edifice we shall find peace and rest.”

These are the extremes of the theological tendencies of the age. There are persons to be found at every intermediate point between implicit faith and total unbelief. How are these tendencies to be met? What are we to think, and how are we to act, concerning them?

In the first place, I say, that we have no serious reason to apprehend that Christianity will be supplanted by a religious deism. When the Bible is cast aside, the world of religious ideas is thrown into utter confusion. It is uncreated, disorganized, and returns to chaos. No human power can reconstruct it. Deism has no creed, no text-book, no church, no ministry, no apostolic or any other succession, no means of perpetuating itself, or even of ascertaining and defining its own identity. It is something, any thing, or nothing, according to the caprice of its various teachers. It cannot obtain a substantial and positive embodiment. The ground it aspires to stand upon, as the religious teacher of the world, is already occupied by Christianity. Christianity holds its pres-

ent position by prescription, as well as by divine right, and cannot be ejected, unless its title can be clearly disproved. This cannot be readily done. Christianity rests on an historical basis which cannot easily be shaken. Its records bear marks of the age in which they profess to have originated, which no ingenuity can set aside.

Deism, under these circumstances, cannot succeed by bare denial. It has something positive to accomplish, before it can obtain a universal, or even a general reception. The existence of Judaism and the Old Testament, of Christianity and the New Testament, are facts in the world's history. These books have a character so marked and peculiar, that nothing can ever be put in the same category, or brought into competition with them. They contain a history of their own origin. They are historically developed from miracle. Miracle accounts for their peculiarities. The world will go on to accept this explanation, until the deist shall furnish it with one more probable without miracle. This is the real problem which the deist has to solve, and which he must solve before he can make any considerable impression upon the faith of the Christian world.

In this attempt deists have hitherto signally failed. It was in vain that Hume pretended to demonstrate that a miracle could never take place, or, if it did, could never be authenticated. It is in vain that Strauss has attempted to apply the subtle alchemy of his mythical theory to dissolve the solid facts of Christ's personal history. They came out of the crucible just as they went in, — their sharp outlines unmutated, their natural coloring unchanged. No candid man can deny that his concluding chapters are an utter failure, wholly impotent and inconclusive.

The abandonment of a positive belief in Christianity as a miraculous revelation is accompanied by the loss of all moral power. The power of Christianity to elevate, to purify, and control mankind has lain in its faith, not in its ethics, — not in its clearer definition of what is right, but in the new motive and moral power, in the life and immortality, which rose up out of the sepulchre of Jesus, — in the conviction of his present exaltation, which makes his Gospel not so much the words he uttered on earth, as a voice now speaking to us from the spiritual world. It was "the wrath of God revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men," it was the mansions of rest which Christ assured his disciples that

he went to prepare for them in his Father's house in heaven, which swayed the minds of men so powerfully. Destroy the faith, and, though the ethics remain, the religion becomes impotent. The world relapses to the level of heathen morality and civilization. Christianity is a religion no longer. It is not even a philosophy. It is an exploded imposture. The characters of Jesus and his Apostles cannot be defended for a moment. They were either deluded enthusiasts or daring impostors ; or their historians, whoever they may have been, were so grossly dishonest or misinformed, that no reliance can be placed on any part of the narrative either of facts or teaching.

The position, then, of a teacher of Christianity who denies its miraculous origin is absurd. He casts the worst species of discredit upon the very text-book over which he preaches. The judgment of a man who imagined himself inspired for two or three years, and then died under that delusion, is not to be trusted on any subject. The testimony of men who spent their lives in the propagation of belief in a risen Saviour is not to be regarded on any matter of fact, if they could be so far imposed upon as themselves to believe that they had seen and conversed with their Master after his resurrection, when the sleep of the tomb was still unbroken. No reliance is to be placed on any part of the record, if this conduct of the Apostles in bearing testimony to the resurrection of their Master is to be rejected.

The attempt to preach Christianity as a philosophy is as powerless as it is absurd. The position itself is a false one,—to attempt to stand in the Church and out of Christianity. “ I am the vine, ye are the branches ; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit ; for without me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered.” Preaching that is not penetrated, and leavened, and sanctified by a reverential faith in Christ, differs from that which is, just as the Apocrypha differs from the genuine Scriptures. It takes a lower tone, and substitutes a vulgar smartness for the noble wisdom of the word of God, and a biting sarcasm for the commanding rebuke of God's authenticated prophets. The evil spirits, which are thus attempted to be exorcised by a false invocation, turn upon the exorcists, and say, “ Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye ? ”

Abandonment of a positive faith in Christ is followed, not

only by a loss of moral power, but by another and more serious consequence. Unbelief usually passes over into a secret enmity and contempt. There can be no real respect for that which is regarded as an imposture or delusion ; and they who are the victims of it must share in the dishonor. Such feelings cannot always be disguised. They will sometimes reveal themselves in an unguarded moment. They will glitter on the point of a sneer, or dart out on the forked tongue of an innuendo. Not, however, to the injury of Christ or Christianity, but only of him who utters them. Christ sits too high in the reverence of the world to be reached by such missiles. Any imputation cast on him only recoils on his accuser. "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner. . . . Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken." The same unerring wisdom, spotless perfection, and spiritual greatness, which rose up out of the humiliation of a capital punishment, which consecrated the cross and changed its ignominy to glory, will maintain the ascendancy they have gained. The mob of Paris, in the hour of their utmost excitement, gave token of the universality of the veneration of the human heart for Jesus of Nazareth, when, with uncovered heads, they bore his statue in procession, declaring, "This is the Master of us all." — "He that falleth upon this stone shall be broken."

He who believes that the miraculous part of Christianity is a mistake or an imposture will not stop long at bare denial. He will become an open opposer, and then he will experience the truth of the next sentence of Christ's prediction : — "But on whomsoever it shall fall, it shall grind him to powder." The stone, which was "cut out of the mountain without hands," and which was to "fill the whole earth," has grown so great, that he who lifts his hand against it, or puts himself in its way to arrest its onward movement, shall be crushed to atoms.

That which cannot be openly assailed cannot be secretly undermined. One of the strongholds of Christianity is the religious observance of the first day of the week. It is in vain to say that the respect paid to this day is a remnant of Jewish superstition, passed over from the seventh to the first day of the week, or that it had its origin in the civil enactments of the Roman emperors. It had a cause more deep, more vital, and commanding, — the firm and universal per-

suasion, that on that day Jesus rose from the dead. It was the Lord's day, not the day set apart by Moses or Constantine. It carries the Christian's thoughts back to the empty sepulchre and the risen Saviour. It is therefore that it arrests the hand of labor, stills the voice of amusement, and spreads a sacred silence over a whole continent. Destroy the belief in Christ's resurrection, and Sunday will be as much desecrated as its most violent opposers desire. Neither Jewish superstition, nor legislative enactment, could prolong its existence a single year.

Both Christianity and Sunday have the advantage of supplying a spiritual and a physical want,—a day of rest, and the need of worship and religious instruction. These wants are perennial, and inseparable from humanity. Man will always need rest, as long as he has a body ; and as long as he has a soul, he will desire to worship and hear of God, and duty, and heaven. Religious instruction will always be grateful, refreshing, strengthening. What shall be the basis of that religious instruction ? “ Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.” There is one who has assumed this very office of the religious Teacher of mankind. He professed to have been sent by God on this very errand. He proclaimed himself “ the Light of the world.” He brought his credentials with him. He taught a doctrine worthy of his claim. He commissioned Apostles, he instituted a Church to perpetuate his religion to the end of time. “ Other foundation can no man lay.” And it is a remarkable fact, that no one has ever dared to lay any other. No one has ever had the assurance to set aside the teaching of Jesus, and set up on his own account. Mahomet did not deny Christ. Swedenborg called his revelation the true Christian religion. Mormonism professes to be only supplementary to Christianity. Deism at the present day professes to be Christianity preëminently, and Christ is claimed as being the greatest teacher of natural religion. They who are most anxious to expunge the supernatural from the New Testament yet acknowledge Christ and Christianity as the highest fact in the history of humanity, and the mind of Christ as exhibiting the most perfect illustration of that common inspiration which God has accorded to all mankind. His existence and endowments were a providential, though not a miraculous arrangement. Thus Deism itself is brought round, by the transcendent spiritual greatness of Jesus, to the

very verge of Christian faith, and acknowledges itself unable to lay any other, better, or surer foundation "than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

I now turn to the opposite tendency, that which has lately been manifested towards ultra-conservatism. There can be no doubt, that in this, as in other cases, one extreme has produced the other. There is a deep-rooted attachment to Christianity in this country, and a strong feeling of gratitude to it for what it is supposed to have done in producing and sustaining our political institutions, as well as all our other social blessings. It has the moral convictions of the people with it. They are willing to forego theological investigation and Biblical criticism, if their result must be to shake in any degree the confidence that is now felt in the Bible. They are willing to leave the difficulties in the way of implicit faith unexplained, and to believe what is incredible, rather than enter upon an analysis which might change their views of any part of the Scriptures.

The clergy of most denominations amongst us are placed in a false position in relation to religious inquiry by the inconsistent action of Protestantism itself, in the first stage of its existence. Protestantism was in its very nature progressive. It demanded and obtained the right of free inquiry. It opened the Scriptures to the private investigation of every Christian. The same permission to investigate ought to have secured the corresponding freedom to declare and profess the results of investigation. Accordingly, the creeds of the early Reformers, the Confession of Augsburg, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and the Westminster Confession, were made in good faith. They were in the first instance merely declaratory. They were intended to resist aggression from without, to consolidate and secure the good that had been already obtained, rather than to close the door to any further improvements. It was an after-thought which made them engines of constraint and oppression within.

When the heat and dust of the struggle had passed away, it was found that the power of the Papacy was divided, not destroyed. The effect of the creeds formed at and immediately after the Reformation was to stereotype, or rather petrify, theology, in the form which it had then assumed, quite as much as the creed of Nice, or the canons of the Council of Trent. Those creeds and confessions were brought to this

country by the churches which emigrated, and here they have remained unchanged to the present hour. The professors in our theological schools are bound by oath to teach them, the clergymen of our churches cannot propagate any other doctrines. Wherever there has been independent examination, there has been manifested a tendency to wander away from those standards of faith. But the slightest exhibition of such a tendency raises the cry of heresy, neology, infidelity. To sustain the old hypotheses, extreme and untenable doctrines are defended, in relation to the Scriptures. The extravagant dogmas of such writers as Gaussen and Hengstenberg are quoted and lauded; and it is asserted as sound doctrine, that every word of the Bible was suggested to the writers by the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The penmen of the sacred Scriptures were merely the amanuenses of God himself. Odium and suspicion are immediately fastened on any one who even suggests that such a theory cannot be maintained. The most crabbed metaphysical theology of the schools is again coming into fashion, and "Bodies of Divinity" are taken down from the shelves where they have quietly slept in the dust of ages, and reproduced in modern type and binding, just as our garrets are ransacked for the quaint old furniture which was the height of elegance two hundred years ago.

The question which is now presented to be determined by this age is, Can such a counter revolution be permitted to take place? Can a Protestant Popery be allowed to envelop this land in its dark and chilling shade? Can a Christian and enlightened country go on indefinitely professing one thing and practising another? Shall every sect in Christendom be suffered to denounce the Church of Rome as the mother of abominations, and practise all her arts of priestcraft and domination within its own little circle? Is this narrow sectarianism never to have an end? Is that intellectual and spiritual freedom, which Protestantism promised and professed to prize above all estimate, never to be enjoyed, — never to be suffered to bring forth its fruit and reach its true end, a nearer approximation to the truth of the Gospel? Can the sectarianism which Protestantism has produced ever be cured in any other way than by carrying out to its full and legitimate result the fundamental principle of Protestantism itself, absolute freedom of discussion and opinion? The external unity of the Church is for ever gone.

The only unity which remains as possible is the unity of conviction, or the unity of mutual charity and forbearance. Neither of these can be reached, except through full, free, and unrestricted examination.

This brings me to the second division of my subject, — the wants of American theology. The people, the common people, are thirsting for more theological knowledge. Our Sunday schools, our religious newspapers and periodicals, our tracts and lectures, awaken more curiosity than they satisfy, suggest more questions than they answer, originate more inquiries than they bring to any result, start more doubts than they solve. While the churches and the clergy have remained stationary, or endeavoured to remain stationary, the popular mind has been travelling on, till it has reached those very questions which the churches and the clergy had hoped to hush up by ecclesiastical censures and the cry of impiety and infidelity. Intelligent laymen are taking up and discussing questions which the clergy dare not touch and warn others against touching. The great mass of the people, guided by the inspiration of common sense, will not rest in either extreme of theological opinion, — dogmatism or unbelief. It demands a criticism, which shall analyze, without annihilating, the Bible, — which shall show in what sense it is the word of God, and in what sense the record of man.

The Bible contains the record of a revelation from God. But it likewise contains a history of the conduct of man under it. In that history is exhibited not only God's wisdom, but man's folly, not only God's truth, but man's errors, superstitions, passions, weaknesses, and sins. In the sentiments of those who enjoyed the light of a miraculous revelation there is a mingling, in various proportions, of divine truth and human misconception. "The light" shone "in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." Light struggled with darkness, creating a species of twilight, which brightened from the faint glimmerings of the patriarchal times to the meridian day of the Gospel.

The dogmatists take upon themselves to deny the *human* element, and in so doing make the Bible responsible for facts, opinions, and sentiments, which, if taken in their literal sense, cannot be received. The speaking serpent which conversed with Eve, and the literal, bodily devil who tempted our Saviour, become real actors in the fall and recovery of mankind. The demoniacal possessions and the resurrection of

Jesus are put on the same level. The imprecations of David and Christ's prayer on the cross become equally models of devotion. The words of an Epistle which begins, "Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians," carries equal authority with the discourses of him who said, "I am come a Light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness,"—"My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me." Encumbered with such views as these, the Bible itself loses its authority. The deist, on the other hand, denies the *divine* element of the Bible. In his view, it is all human. Its theology is an Oriental theosophy, the Jewish way of accounting for things as they are. The Hebrew idea of one spiritual God, the Jehovah of the Old Testament, was a happy conjecture upon a subject in which all is uncertainty, which happened to take possession of the Jewish mind, was developed in speculation and embodied by priestly and pious fraud and imposture into a national ritual and religion. And finally, Jesus of Nazareth, availing himself of national traditions and ambiguous prophecies, contrived to pass himself off upon the world as a divinely authenticated teacher, to extract what was spiritual and universal from the national faith of the Jews, and make it the basis of a new religion, adapted to the wants of all mankind.

In this view of things neither the human mind nor heart can ever acquiesce. They can never disown or deny the divine element of the Bible. The human heart can never be persuaded that a supernatural knowledge of God did not inspire and sustain the piety of the saints of old. The human mind can never be made to believe that such a long succession of holy men should have conspired to deceive the human race. It is not conceivable that such an identity of doctrine should have pervaded the whole existence of God's ancient Church, without a common divine illumination, when the Christian Church, as soon as it was forsaken by the gift of direct inspiration, was torn in pieces by a thousand heresies, with the very Scriptures, the source of all religious opinion, in its hands.

The advent, the character, the teaching, the history of Jesus of Nazareth, are a combination of facts which no ingenuity has hitherto been able to explain, without the supposition that he was what he professed to be, the Sent of God. The believer, when tempted to turn away from him, ex-

claims, like Peter, "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life." No insinuation of enthusiasm, mistake, or misapprehension can induce the Christian world to regard him as any thing less than "the faithful and the true Witness," "the First-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth." In the consciousness of the moral and spiritual elevation which he has conferred on his followers, the feeling of gratitude can never be extinguished in their hearts, or cease to be expressed by their lips, "to him who hath loved them and washed them from their sins in his own blood, and made them kings and priests unto God."

Such, then, being the fact, that neither the divine nor the human element of the Bible can be denied, and neither can exclude the other, the great purpose of theological inquiry must be to discriminate between the two, the revealed truth and the human history, the direct teaching of the Spirit and human sentiments and feelings, — between tradition and contemporaneous history, between doctrine and opinion, between argument and illustration, between conventional hypothesis and literal fact.

In short, theology stands in pressing need of a new criticism and analysis of the Bible itself. There is at the present hour no satisfactory treatise upon the Old Testament, to put into the hands of a theological student. The old, verbal criticism has become obsolete by the general abandonment of the theory of verbal inspiration. That vast apparatus, which the industry of centuries has been accumulating to decide the precise import of a word in the discourses of Jesus, has been rendered nearly useless by the uncertainty which has been developed by the discrepancies of the Gospels as to the precise expression that was used by Christ. These minor questions are swallowed up and lost in the higher question of the origin of the Gospels themselves.

There seems to be no probability that the American mind will acquiesce in any of the various results of German investigation. The patient scholars of that laborious nation have collected the materials, but seem wholly incapable of constructing a theology. There seems to be in the German mind an incapacity for success in such an undertaking, a destitution of the power of logical and consistent thought. There seems to be an incurable tendency to extravagant theory and cloudy mysticism. They do not build together.

Like the architects of Babel, they are confounded by their own diversities of speech. They do not understand one another, and sometimes it seems questionable whether they understand themselves. Every man lays the corner-stone for himself, in the peculiarity of his own hypothesis, which the next workman digs up or overthrows. Every new man that comes up attempts to cast the whole of theology anew, and he is especially careful to begin his work by demolishing every thing that has been done before.

The American mind, which possesses a strong infusion of Anglo-Saxon common sense, becomes weary of chasing such shadows over the field of thought, and finds itself reduced at last to the necessity of thinking for itself. It derives important aid from German research, but little from German speculation. The Germans have collected every thing in ancient records which has any bearing on the interpretation of the Bible. In the application of those vast stores of learning they are less successful. In the speculations of one wing of their theological army there are plain traces of the influence of a state religion and an established creed. The other is marked by the license of the most outrageous skepticism. Nor is it wonderful that the extravagant criticism, which scatters the personality of Homer into the fragments of an Homeric age, should find nothing historical in the earlier records of the Jews; that under such criticism Moses and the patriarchs should recede into a fabulous age, and be allowed to retain about the same doubtful hold on our faith with the heroes of the Trojan war. To such speculations the American mind has a natural repugnance. It will be satisfied with neither the orthodoxy nor the heterodoxy of Germany. We must have a theology of our own. We must analyze the Scriptures for ourselves.

Next to a thorough criticism of the Old Testament, we want an able, learned, and candid Christology, or, in other words, an exposition of the connection between the Old and New Testaments, the transition from Judaism to Christianity, the light in which Judaism and the Hebrew Scriptures were regarded by Christ and his Apostles, the subject of prophecy, and the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. The questions brought up and discussed in such a work would be the deepest and most interesting in theology. They go behind all verbal criticism, and settle the very principles on which its value depends. The time was, when

they were merely theological questions, and interesting to scholars alone. They are now become popular questions, that suggest themselves to the common readers of the Bible, and vitally affect their faith. The religious opinions of the Jews in the time of Christ, their expectations of their Messiah, and their interpretations of the prophecies, had evidently an important influence in forming the language of the New Testament, and give rise to the suspicion, in many minds, that Christianity was the growth of the age in which it originated. The highest office of criticism is to show that this suspicion is wholly unfounded, — that, while Christ seemed merely to develop the religious conceptions of the period, he gave the world a religion as original as it was perfect ; he made use of the phraseology of the time as the vehicle of a wisdom as comprehensive as human nature and human life, as the symbolic expression of a truth which searches the inmost depths of the soul.

This leads me to say that we want a new analysis of the New Testament itself. Most of the mistakes and disputes in theology have arisen from regarding the New Testament as a homogeneous composition, from putting the Epistles on the same level with the Gospels, from confounding opinion with doctrine, from mistaking illustration for argument, hypothesis for assertion, rhetorical exaggeration for literal statement, limited propositions for universals, Oriental figures for simple facts.

The first and fundamental element of Christianity is historical facts. It professes to be, not a philosophy, commending itself as true by its coincidence with the intuitions of universal reason, but a revelation from God, authenticated by miraculous testimony. Its basis is therefore historical, the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth and his Apostles. Its origin is not placed in an obscure corner, a dark period, or a fabulous age. It blends itself with contemporaneous history, and connects itself with dates, persons, and places, in such a manner as to afford the amplest means of proof or confutation. Interwoven with this history are accounts of supernatural events, such as were proper to authenticate a divine revelation. Take out the threads of the supernatural which run through the whole texture, and the web falls to pieces. It is no longer worth the trouble of an analysis.

Next to historical facts come the doctrines of Christianity. Jesus assumed the office of a Divine Teacher, the sole

Founder of a new religion which should become coextensive with the world and as lasting as time. The doctrines which he taught in that capacity he professed to derive, not from the deductions of reason, not from the traditional wisdom of the past, not from the religion of the Jews, but from the immediate inspiration of God. What are those doctrines? It is an important office of criticism to distinguish them from another element of the New Testament, the floating opinions of the age. It was natural, perhaps unavoidable, that these opinions should appear in the teachings of Christ and his Apostles in the way of allusion or illustration. Whenever such a discrimination shall be made between the doctrines of Christ and the opinions of the age, it will be found that nearly all the doctrines which have been the subjects of controversy in the Christian Church will fall into the latter category, and cease to give the world any further trouble.

There remains a fourth element of the New Testament, which consists in modes of speech and mere phraseology. Almost two thousand years separate us from the Christian era, and almost a hemisphere of the earth intervenes between us and the places where the Saviour taught and the Apostles preached. Vast changes have taken place in the world since that day. We speak a language altogether different, in its genius and its idioms, from that in which Jesus taught. The imagination in this Occidental world has little of the glow which it had, and still has, in the East. Our forms of society and government are wholly diverse. Their organization was patriarchal, monarchic, theocratical. Ours is individual, democratic, I had almost said irreligious. The consequence of this is, that much of the phraseology of the Bible, when unexplained, is calculated to mislead the common mind, and systems of theology are built up upon Oriental figures. A dictionary of phrases at the end of the Bible would do more, perhaps, than any thing else to correct the errors and extravagances of modern theology.

Parallel with Christianity, and always exerting a great influence over it, has ever been an intellectual and spiritual philosophy. In fact, theology in the Christian Church has always been a system made up partly from the Scriptures, and partly from the reigning philosophy of the age. And it must be confessed, that, in constructing a theology, the philosophical element has been more regarded than the Bible. A human philosophy has oftener been taught in Christian pul-

pits than the simple doctrines of Jesus Christ. Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, who were the first builders of theology, were quite as carefully instructed in the Platonic philosophy as in the records of divine revelation, and the heathen element is everywhere conspicuous in their work. In the Middle Ages, the schoolmen, under the training of the logic of Aristotle, took possession of Christian theology, and moulded it into a system of metaphysical definitions, as different from its original freedom and generality as the crystallizations of chemistry are unlike the boundless diversity and variety of the vegetable world. The labors of those acute logicians have survived the reign of the church to which they belonged, and the Reformers themselves, in the creeds they helped to frame and establish, contributed to perpetuate the dominion of the very minds whose influence they attempted to overthrow.

Our own Edwards confesses that he entered on the field of metaphysical disquisition with a theological purpose, and his great work on the Will, he tells us, was aimed as a side-blow to crush the growing power of Arminianism in the churches. Hume, as zealous an advocate of philosophical necessity as Edwards himself, seems to have had in view, in all his metaphysical essays, the total annihilation of every species of religious faith. In Germany, Orthodoxy has of late attempted to deduce its favorite dogmas from the Pantheism of Hegel. And the Trinity, the incarnation, the godhead of Christ, and the kindred doctrines, are thought to find confirmation in the Transcendental logic, which is equally capable of proving that there is no God at all.

We want no more metaphysics under false pretences. We want no metaphysics which are elaborated with a preconceived purpose of sustaining a theological hypothesis. Science, to be useful and valuable, must stand on its own ground, and be fairly deduced from ascertained phenomena. We do want a more simple and intelligible analysis of the intellectual, moral, and religious nature of man. We do want a better spiritual philosophy. It would do more than any thing else to dissipate those mists which seem to be coming over the field of religious discussion, in which the outlines of the objects of intellectual vision are lost, the imagination runs wild, and men are seen "as trees walking."

Finally, we want a new ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries. It would be the history of the origin of the

theology which now passes in the world as Christian, but which came from a source most widely diverse. The story of the action of Christianity upon Paganism has been told; that of the reaction of Paganism upon Christianity has, as yet, found no historian. The introduction of polytheism, of the dogma of the constitutional corruption of human nature, and the corresponding doctrines of grace, the rise of the hierarchy, the transformation of the simple worship of the synagogue into the magnificent ritual of the Middle Ages, the gradual merging of individual opinion in the authority of the Church, constitute one of the saddest chapters in the history of mankind. The materials are in existence which might make the gradual corruption of Christianity one of the most palpable of facts. Priestley did something in the way of bringing these materials to light and connecting them together, but his work shows merely what might and what ought to be done. A simple narration of the early controversies would scatter to the winds the Tractarian doctrine of development, and clearly show that what was condemned as heresy in the early Church was more often an honest resistance to innovation, — that, instead of calling in question what had always been taken for granted, the victims of ecclesiastical persecution were the conscientious defenders of the faith once delivered to the saints.

Such, in my judgment, are some of the most prominent wants of theology in this country at the present time. Able works on these subjects would do much to put an end to controversy, and restore peace and unity to the churches. They would be important guides to the theological student in the most perplexing part of his inquiries. They would relieve many an honest and pious mind from doubt and misgiving. They would do more to arrest the paralysis of skepticism and indifference, so painfully visible in some quarters, than volumes of argument on the evidences of Christianity.

In conclusion, I would say, that there never was a time when thorough theological scholarship was more needed than now. The ages of implicit and traditionary faith are passed, that of individual conviction is coming. He who now undertakes to teach Christianity must know what he teaches and whereof he affirms. He who would himself be firmly established in the faith, and not be "carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men," must pursue his own investigations with patience and thoroughness.

He must not think that his theological education is finished when his academic life is closed. It is only begun. It requires study, as well as time, to mature the mind and consolidate the judgment. The best remedy for neological tendencies is thorough scholarship, which enables its possessor to explain, as well as discover, difficulties in the words and the substance of the Christian faith.

There never was a time when the able theologian and thorough scholar could accomplish more than now for the benefit of mankind. Times of revolution and transition are the periods when intellectual and scientific efforts produce the deepest and most lasting effects. He who now writes an able theological treatise has access to more minds than he could have addressed at any preceding period since the introduction of Christianity. He who writes good English on any subject now finds more readers than author ever found before.

In view of the present religious condition of the world, the importance of the theological institution whose anniversary we this day celebrate cannot be overestimated. It ought to excite the warmest interest in the bosom of every friend of pure Christianity, of every friend of his country and of man. Its numbers may be kept down for a time, by the want of numerical importance in our denomination. But I am persuaded that it has a great mission to fulfil. To fulfil that mission numbers are not what we most want. It is learning, wisdom, piety, devotedness, mental discipline, eloquence, persevering industry. We want a theology, positive, definite, affirmative, fully developed from first principles, from the Bible, from human nature, from history and religious experience. With such a rallying point to consolidate our power, our cause would be strong, its course would be upward, onward, irresistible.

This ancient university was early dedicated to Christ and the Church. It was founded with the especial purpose of furnishing learned, able, and faithful pastors to the churches. If the wishes of her pious founders are to have any weight, her theological department ought to be the object of her special care. She does not abandon, she fulfils, the high purpose of her institution, when she enlarges and perfects the means of theological education. It is the stream of divine truth which above all things makes glad the city of our God. It is a cause of pride and gratulation to her most distant

sons, that, by the munificent benefaction of one who knows the noblest uses of wealth, she has been permitted to add a scientific school to her already ample means of public usefulness. It is well that the boundless physical resources of this country should be developed. It is well that the mines, the forests, the rivers, of this wide continent should be made to yield their treasures to its growing population. There is, however, a science of still higher value; — the science of living happily and well, of using the world without abusing it. This science is taught only in the word of God. It is this science alone that can prevent the exuberance of physical abundance from becoming a snare and a curse.

To this school of the prophets, then, let the liberality of the wealthy be directed. Let its faculty of instruction be full and well sustained. Let the young men they send out into the world be thoroughly educated. Let them be accomplished scholars and able theologians, as well as eloquent preachers, and, wherever they are placed, their influence will be felt in the diffusion of a more enlightened faith, a purer morality, a higher civilization, a piety more sincere and profound.

ART. VII — VINCENT BOURNE AND THE MODERN LATINISTS.*

A NAME very little known to American readers is that of Vincent Bourne. As it was his choice to express his ideas through the medium of a dead language, he could not expect ever to become a popular poet. He wrote for scholars, for the cultivated, for those who have been fortunate enough to receive a classical education; and by them he has been appreciated, although his name is familiar to but few ears. In England he is much better known than with us, and this is

* 1. *The Poetical Works, Latin and English, of Vincent Bourne.* A New Edition. London. 1838. 12mo. pp. 320.

2. *Selecta Poemata Itatorum qui Latine scripserunt. Accurante A. POPE.* Londini. 1740. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 270, 252.

3. *Matthiæ Casimiri Sarbievi e Societate Jesu Carmina.* Parisiis. 1759. 12mo. pp. 383.

4. *Arundines Cami, sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Lusus Canori.* Editio Tertia. Cantabrigiæ. 1847. 8vo. pp. 261.

partly owing to the fact, that there a larger number of persons are classically educated, and the art of making Latin poetry is much more sedulously pursued.

Without stopping here to discuss the oft-disputed question, whether men may not be more profitably employed than in composing hexameters, we shall assume at once that the modern Latinists have produced things worthy of the attention of our readers for a short time. The novelty of an attempt to direct notice to a class of literary productions of which Americans know but little may command some attention.

Vincent Bourne was a quiet scholar, who led a life of literary leisure, in the first half of the last century. He was originally intended for the Church, but was restrained from taking orders by scruples of conscience as to his fitness for the sacred function, and became an usher of Westminster School, where he passed his life between the duties of his office and writing Latin poetry. He owes a good deal of his reputation to the friendship of Cowper, who not only loved him as a man, but admired him as an author, and translated many of his works. "He was usher of the fifth form at Westminster," writes Cowper, "when I passed through it. He was so good-natured and so indolent, that I lost more than I got by him: for he made me as idle as himself." Vincent Bourne is generally placed at the head of those Englishmen who, in modern times, have cultivated the Latin muse, and he cannot be considered much inferior to any of the modern Latinists. Perhaps his success arose in part from the fact, that writing in Latin was perfectly natural to him, and not a learned affectation. He had much poetical talent, and, when any thing occurred which excited his fancy, it was as natural for him to write a Latin poem as it would be for other people to write in English. Cowper says, — "I love the memory of Vincent Bourne. I think him a better Latin poet than Tibullus, Propertius, Ausonius, or any of the writers in his way, except Ovid, and not at all inferior to him." This is rather indiscriminate praise, and destroys its own effect. Vincent Bourne as a poet somewhat resembled Cowper himself. He had the same nice observation of men and things, the same genial humor, and the same expansive sympathies, which awaken love rather than admiration. As a Latinist, his chief merit appears to us to have been the wonderful plastic power which he had over a dead language, so that

in his hands it seems no longer dead. Any thing that he wishes to describe, however modern and unclassical it is, — as a man smoking a pipe, a magic-lantern, a pair of spectacles, a coach too full of people, a tavern full of drunken citizens, — he places before us in terms not only distinct and picturesque, but absolutely classical, and such as Horace himself would not have disdained to use. His “*Iter per Tamesin*,” from which we shall presently give an extract, seems as little forced and artificial, and as spontaneously written, as the celebrated “*Journey to Brundisium*” of the classical humorist. This is his great merit. Other modern Latinists may have written in a more exalted strain, but in their mastery over the language no one has surpassed Vincent Bourne. An extract from his “*Trip on the Thames*” will enable the reader to judge of the ease with which he writes.

“*Urbem cum volui crassumque relinquere fumum,
 Plaustrorumque vagos strepitus currusque crepantes :
 Nunc vocem stridentis anus, nunc murmura rauca
 Audire invitus fusæ per compita turbæ,
 Ad littus descendi et amœni Tamesis undas ;
 Ut possem recreare animum, placidoque recessu
 Et virides campos et dulcia visere rura.
 At nautæ venientem ubi me videre sagaces,
 Sese disponunt, omnes clamare parati.
 Et jam protensis manibus diversa loquuntur,
 Jamque vices rediisse suas, cinguntque tacentem.
 Muta signa dedi ; accepto decurrere signo,
 Festinat quidam, et cymbam velociter infert
 Præcipiti prora, reliquasque hic inde jacentes
 Proturbans, aperit cursus aditumque patentem.
 Interea dives pingui cum conjuge civis,
 Visendi pariter captus dulcedine ruris,
 Advenit, et puppim mecum conscendit eandem.
 Portitor, ut mulier navem conscendit, amicam
 Præbebat dextram, et gressus firmabat iniquos.
 Sæpe quidem voluit causas finxisse morandi,
 Expectans alium, si fors descenderet ullus,
 Quem veheret ; sed sæpe suum tetrudere jussus
 Navigium, littus tandem terrasque reliquit.”*

They go on some distance, till the waterman thinks that he should like to take a pipe ; therefore

“*tubulum cum pyxide magna
 Depromit, nigrum longus quem fecerat usus.*

Hunc postquam implêrat pæto, silicemque parârat,
 Excussit scintillam ; ubi copia ponitur atri
 Fomitis, hinc ignem sibi multum exigit, et haustu
 Accedens crebro, surgentes deprimit herbas
 Extremo digito : in cineres albescere pætum
 Incipit, et naso gratos emittit odores."

Nothing can be more accurate than this description.

Vincent Bourne made several translations from various pieces of English poetry, which have the same gracefulness and ease that mark his original productions. His translations of Mickle's ballad of "Lucy and Colin" and Mallet's "William and Margaret" exceed in elegance almost any specimen of modern Latin poetry that we are acquainted with. We have only room to give the first three stanzas of the latter.

"Omnia nox tenebris, tacitaque involverat umbra,
 Et fessos homines vinxerat alta quies ;
 Cum valvæ patuêre, et gressu illapsa silenti,
 Thyrsidis ad lectum stabat imago Chloes.

"Vultus erat, qualis lacrymosi vultus Aprilis,
 Cui dubia hyberno conditur imbre dies ;
 Quoque sepulchralem a pedibus collegit amictum
 Candidior nivibus frigidiorque manus.

"Cumque dies aberunt molles, et læta juvenus,
 Gloria pallescit sic, Cyparissi, tua ;
 Cum mors decutiet capiti diademata, regum
 Hac erit in trabea conspiciendus honos."

In spite of Dugald Stewart's animadversion on it, we like very much the expression in the second stanza, "Candidior nivibus frigidiorque manus."

As we said before, Cowper translated many of Vincent Bourne's smaller pieces, and Charles Lamb has also clothed in an English dress some of the graceful thoughts of this refined scholar, whose gentle and retiring disposition so much resembled his own. Latin epitaphs, in spite of the opinion of Dr. Johnson, — who liked them so much, that he once said, that, if he could help it, the walls of Westminster Abbey should never be disgraced by one in English, — are now usually considered rather poor things. Here is one which is a beautiful exception, and Charles Lamb's translation, which we add, is as beautiful as the original.

"In Statuam Sepulchralem Infantis Dormientis.

"Infans venuste, qui sacros dulces agens
 In hoc sopores marmore,
 Placidissima quiete compostus jaces,
 Et inscius culpæ et metus,
 Somno fruaris, docta quem dedit manus
 Sculptoris ; et somno simul,
 Quem nescit artifex vel ars effingere,
 Fruaris innocentæ."

"On a Sepulchral Statue of an Infant Sleeping.

"Beautiful infant, who dost keep
 Thy posture here and sleep'st a marble sleep ;
 May the repose unbroken be,
 Which the fine artist's hand hath lent to thee,
 While thou enjoy'st along with it
 That which no art or craft could ever hit,
 Or counterfeit to mortal sense, —
 The heaven-infused sleep of innocence."

Such are a few specimens selected from the works which employed the leisure hours of Vincent Bourne. And in these days, when life is scarcely long enough to carry into execution a tenth part of the plans and projects which our restless, contriving Yankee character lays out for us, it is a pleasant thing to look back upon the calm days of this contented scholar. And the times, too, in which he lived, — how much more of dignified ease and leisure they seem to have than our bustling age, — the times of wigs and swords, and hoop-petticoats, and stately minuets, and all the dignified formality and ceremonious courtesy which are embalmed in the glittering poetry of Pope and the chaste sentences of Addison ! Perhaps, though, if we knew the whole truth, those times were really as stirring as our own, — as much agitated by cares of life, the strife for wealth, and the intrigues of political ambition ; for the human heart is always the same. Yet the mirror of their age, which the old essayists give us, is so surrounded by an atmosphere of repose, that it resembles more some

"pleasing land of drowsy-head,
 Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye,"

than real life. But in this world, different spheres of action are sought by different men, and, while the restless, intriguing, ambitious disposition of a Bolingbroke or an Orford could

find satisfaction only in the turmoil of the political arena, Vincent Bourne could live on quietly in his humble station, without envy or repining. In his own beautiful style he has described the mode of life that he would choose to lead ; and, more fortunate than most men, it was permitted him to lead it. We have attempted a translation of his " *Votum*," but we are aware how much it falls short of the beauty of the original.

THE WISH.

As a quiet streamlet, with noiseless waves,
The moist green meadows, and mossy caves,
And the forest's shady stillness, laves,
Pursuing its hidden way, —

Now winding here and there its course,
Meandering backward to its source,
Till, rushing on with swifter force,
It finds some ocean-bay :

So let my life in quiet glide,
Free from the cares of wealth and pride,
The forum's noisy broils aside,
And glory's bloody crown ;

And when night closes o'er life's day,
Wearied with toil, and sick of play,
With gentle hand, then let death lay
My limbs in quiet down.

We have said that the writings of Vincent Bourne are but little known to American readers. And this is the case with modern Latin poetry in general. Few persons know what an immense quantity of it there is, resting quietly on the shelves of great libraries, undisturbed except now and then by the incursions of some such vagrant strollers in the by-paths of learning as ourselves. And now that we are upon the subject, we think it a good opportunity to say a few words about this half-forgotten literature, and to mention some of the most distinguished names it records. A history of modern Latin poetry has never been written. To write such a history was one of the plans which Dr. Johnson always had in view, but the mind which accomplished so much never found leisure for this undertaking. It is rather strange that that literary antiquarian, the elder D'Israeli, has never wandered into these untrodden paths. He could have made such

a history entertaining, if any one could. There have not been wanting persons ill-natured enough to say, that the neglect into which this subject has fallen is nothing but the natural result of the intense stupidity which the writers of Latin verse have shown. This may be partly true, but still we think there might be extracted from the vast heaps of trash a few gems worthy of observation.

During the Dark Ages, the Latin language, although used as a vehicle for the transmission of thought, had no literary elegance. It was a barbarous dialect, and violations of grammar were so common as to attract no attention. Poetry did not fare much better than prose. The classic metres were forgotten, and in their place were substituted the Leonine verses, which were a sort of rhymed poetry, governed by accent instead of quantity, like our own. The famous drinking-song of old Walter de Mapes, beginning

“Mihi est propositum in tabernâ mori,”

is a specimen of this kind of poetry; as are also many of the Latin hymns of the Church. The “*Stabat mater dolorosa*” and the “*Dies iræ*” are well known.

At the revival of learning in the fifteenth century, Latin poetry was once more written after the classical style, with attention to the laws of prosody, and in imitation of the works of the writers of the Augustan age, which had just been disinterred from the dust of the monasteries. For a long time, the scholars of Europe disdained to use any other language than Latin, in poetry as well as prose. Had they any thing grand or pathetic to describe, the majestic hexameters of Virgil, the softer cadences of Ovid or Catullus, or the lyric beauty of Horace, were taken as the only true models. They little thought that the rude materials of the Italian, French, and English could ever be wrought into forms of as exquisite perfection as they then possessed in the remnants of classic eloquence and poetry. And for two centuries or more, poetry was written chiefly in Latin, notwithstanding the brilliant examples of the great Italian poets and the English Chaucer. This was the golden age of modern Latin poetry, for it was then a natural production. Afterwards, when the modern languages came into literary use, Latin poetry became more an amusement of scholars, and flourished chiefly in the great universities and seats of learning.

Petrarch is said to have been the first real restorer of polite letters. He was the first who had the taste to appreciate the beauties of Virgil and Cicero, and the ability to inspire others with his own admiration. From admiring, he was led to imitate; and his Latin poems were much esteemed in his own days, and they are not without some beauty of thought and considerable sweetness of expression. It is related, that Petrarch was more proud of his Latin poem "*Africa*," on the second Punic war, than of all the Italian sonnets and *canzonieri* from which he derives his immortality. The only Latin poets of the fifteenth century of much distinction are Pontanus and Politian. Besides his poetical talent, Politian was the first scholar of the age, and in knowledge and appreciation of the authors of antiquity surpassed all his contemporaries. His elegy on the death of Ovid is very touching, and is expressed in a sweet and unaffected manner. We have essayed a translation.

ON THE DEATH OF OVID.

In years gone by, on Euxine shores a Roman bard lay dying;
 In his dark grave in barbarous lands a Roman bard is lying;
 In Scythia, where the Danube rolls his cold waves to the sea,
 The sweetest bard that ever sang of love sleeps tranquilly.
 More harsh than Scythian savages wert thou, O cruel Rome!
 Who left to die so great a son far from his distant home;
 For none there were in those rude lands to soothe his dying bed,
 Console him with affection's words, and hold his throbbing head,
 Or help him with a leech's skill, while help could aught avail,
 Then close his dying eyes in peace, and soothe his dying wail.
 Ah! none there were; his ancient friends, withheld by stern decree,
 Were far away from Pontus, beyond a distant sea;
 Ah! none there were; his children, wife, and all, were absent then,
 And none stood round his dying bed but tribes of savage men.
 None but the barbarous Bessi, the Corallian's yellow hair,
 And the stony-hearted Getæ, wrapped in their furs, were there.
 Yet e'en Sarmatian savages bewailed the poet dead,
 And the Gætian, in barbaric woe, wounded his mourning head.
 From the mountains, and the caverns, and the forests all around,
 And from Danube's sullen waters, came a melancholy sound.
 The Paphian queen with hurrying doves descended through the sky,
 And lit the waiting funeral-pyre where he was placed on high,
 And when the fury of the flames left nothing more to burn,

She placed the poet's ashes in a well-stopped funeral urn,
 Concealed it in the ground, and wrote upon the stone above, —
 "Here lies beneath a master of the tender art of love."

The beginning of the sixteenth century was distinguished by the splendid pontificate of Leo X., that famous patron of literature and the fine arts. Leo, besides his many other refined tastes, was a great admirer of Latin poetry, and its most brilliant period was in his times. We find the names of Cardinal Bembo, distinguished both in Latin and Italian literature, of Vida, Sannazarius, and Fracastorius, the three greatest names in modern Latin poetry, besides those of Naugerius and Flaminius, Castiglione, and a host of others too numerous to recount. Jerome Vida, the Bishop of Alba, is perhaps the best known of these, owing to the mention which Pope has made of him : —

"But see, each Muse in Leo's golden days
 Starts from her trance, and trims her withered bays :

With sweeter notes each rising temple rung ;
 A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung !
 Immortal Vida ! on whose honored brow
 The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow :
 Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
 As next in place to Mantua, next in fame !"

The juxtaposition of Cremona, Vida's birthplace, and Mantua, in the last two lines, is not as happy as Pope's complimentary turns of expression generally are. It was thought that Vida's imitation of Virgil was too close ; at any rate, the comparison it excited was rather injurious to the modern ; whence some witty person applied Virgil's famous line,

"Mantua, vœ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ !"

as a sarcasm upon the performances of the Italian bishop. The praise which Pope so liberally bestows on Vida was perhaps the effect of gratitude, for he has not scrupled to borrow from Vida in several places. The famous directions on adapting the sound to the sense, in Pope's "Essay on Criticism," are almost a literal translation of a passage in Vida's "Poetics." The description of the game of cards in the "Rape of the Lock" is imitated from a place in the "Schaccia Ludus," or "Game of Chess," a poem of the didactic order, ornamented with the usual quantity

of episodes, celebrating the rise and progress of that game in excellent Virgilian hexameters. Leo gave Vida a rich priory in Tusculum, that he might have leisure to devote himself to sacred subjects, and the result of his retirement was the "*Christiados*," a sacred epic in twelve books, which is about as readable as the "*Davideis*" of Cowley, or the "*Messiah*" of Klopstock.

Fracastorius was a physician, and was so much enamoured of his art, that he brought for its embellishment those ornaments which the muse of poetry can bestow. Although the disease which he wrote about is usually regarded as one of which the less is said the better, yet it is but fair to mention that he is thought by the critics to have treated his subject with great force and even sublimity. But however much we may applaud his execution, we can never be pleased with his taste in the choice of a subject. We will not, however, deny him his place at the head of the poetical disciples of Galen, a race of which the most unsuccessful certainly was he who in an evil hour inscribed upon his bottles, —

"When taken,
To be well shaken."

In the list of modern Latin poets, there are few whom we should be willing to place above Sannazarius. His thoughts have much sweetness and grace, and in purity, elegance, and harmony of versification he has scarcely ever been surpassed. His classical propriety of style and freedom from modern turns of expression strike one at once. Sannazarius was a loyal adherent of the fortunes of Ferdinand II., king of Naples, who, in return for his faithful friendship, gave him the beautiful villa of Margellina, on the shores of the Bay of Naples. Here the poet passed the evening of his days in sweet retirement, and the cultivation of his muse. His piscatory eclogues, which describe the fishermen of the Bay of Naples and their habits, are highly commended. Hallam says, "They breathe all the beauty and sweetness of the fair bay they describe." At least, it is a relief to have something a little new; and after the endless Corydons, Phillises, and Chloes of the pastoral poetry, it is pleasant to read about Galatea and Proteus sometimes. Sannazarius, from living on the Mediterranean, had a theoretical, rather than practical knowledge of tides; at any rate, he does not seem to have exactly comprehended the mystery; for in one eclogue, speaking of England, he says, —

“ Quâ (nisi vana ferunt) quoties maris unda recedit,
Indigenæ captant nudos per littora pisces.”

Besides these three greater names, there are many others which we cannot stop to write out, with the exception of M. Antæus Flaminius, who in sweetness and purity of style holds a high place among lyric and elegiac poets. We have translated an ode of his to some old friend, who, it appears, was amply blessed with happiness.

TO PETER VIPERA.

Happy old man ! how can I
Sing fitly your felicity ?
Your house, though small, is well arrayed
With furniture neatly made ;
Pictures, that e'en a master's eye
Would not hastily pass by :
A snug apartment, as to looks
Well enough, and shelves of books
Around its walls, — books that give
Precepts how to rightly live.
Your homely table's simple fare
Is furnished by the watchful care
Of your faithful servant's hand,
An old man affable and bland,
Whose little jokes you don't disdain
To hear and answer back again.
Added to such an ample store
Of blessings, you have one thing more, —
A pleasant garden, which I hear
Surpasses all the gardens near.
A green old age, an honest mind,
And morals pure, in you we find.
Your income, drawn from city near,
Amplly suffices for each year.
Whate'er torments an old man's life,
The fear of death, ambition's strife,
Are far away, for well you know
The good that pious deeds bestow ;
The blessings that on earth you have
You will not lose beyond the grave.
Happy old man ! how can I
Sing fitly your felicity ?

It is rather curious to see how much more successful the modern Latinists are in describing scenes of peace and quiet, and the felicities of rural life, (as in the poem we have just

quoted,) than when they attempt a more heroic strain. Then they are apt to become bombastic and unnatural. This may be owing to the fact, that this poetry was written chiefly by scholars, and most men can describe their own life better than they can imagine that of other people.

We have not room to speak of Lotichius, Beza, Sammarthanus, and the Scaligers, all esteemed great Latinists in their day; and only delay a moment to give an epigram of one of the brothers Amalthæi, which has been much admired. It is upon two beautiful twin children, who were so unfortunate as each to lose an eye, and it would seem difficult to turn such a defect into an occasion of compliment.

“ACON ET LEONILLA.

“Lumine Acon dextro, capta est Leonilla sinistro,
Et potis est formâ vincere uterque Deos.
Blande puer! lumen quod habes concede sorori,
Sic tu cæcus Amor, sic erit illa Venus.”

Translation.

“Acon and Leonilla each have lost an eye,
And each in beauty with the gods may vie.
Give to your sister your remaining eye, dear boy,
Blind Cupid's *you, she* 'll Venus' name enjoy.”

When we come to look at Dutch poetry, we are struck with the truth of the old proverb, “Give a dog a bad name,” etc. It appears to have been decided by the critics, that Dutchmen are not poetical, and so their fate is sealed. And yet Holland is not deficient in names of poets, especially Latin ones. First stands the disciple of Catullus, Joannes Secundus; then we find Barlæus, whose description of the nuptials of Adam and Eve Milton is said to have imitated; Donsa, Baudius, and Heinsius, whose elegies have been thought to fall not far behind Ovid, and whose tragedy on the “Massacre of the Innocents” certainly contains some very beautiful passages. Grotius, also, spared time from his more learned pursuits to write Latin verse. Indeed, so much did he love it, that, besides his original productions, he translated the Institutes of Justinian into hexameters, a species of amusement of which, luckily, our modern jurists are not fond. The largest part of Dutch poetry consists of gratulatory marriage verses and funeral lamentations, which were sometimes the spontaneous offering of friendship, but were more often

paid for in solid guilders. It is astonishing what a vast number of these verses still remain, all about the amours of ladies and gentlemen

“ with unpronounceable Dutch names,
And hearts with true love warm.”

The best of these poets is Secundus. He flourished near the beginning of the sixteenth century, and, after serving with much honor in various diplomatic functions, died at an early age, leaving behind a large quantity of amorous poetry. He appears to have been a very accomplished person, excelling in music, painting, and sculpture, as well as poetry; a sort of Dutch “Admirable Crichton.” His best work was his “Basia,” or “Kisses,” a collection of short pieces after the manner of Catullus. Some admirer of Secundus published a new edition of his “Basia” in 1803, with an essay on his life, and some translations in the true “Laura-Matilda” style of versification.

Before we leave the Dutch poets, we may say that violations of the rules of prosody are so common in the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages, that we ought hardly to select any one person for blame in this respect.

As the cultivation of the modern languages of Europe became more general, Latin versification declined, and in the seventeenth century was continued principally by the Jesuits. We find the names of Ceva, Sarbiewski, Huet, Santeul, Vaniere, the Abbé Ménage, and Rapin, whose didactic poem on Gardens Mr. Hallam speaks of in the highest terms. Sarbiewski was a Pole, who went to Rome, and was patronized by a brother bard, Cardinal Barberini. When Barberini was elevated to the pontificate, as Urban VIII., the grateful Sarbiewski, among a crowd of other gratulatory odes, wrote the following “To the Bees,” which form the armorial bearings of the house of Barberini, informing them that they might desist from labor, as the age of honey and sweetness, which had been foretold in some old prophecy, had come.

“AD APES BARBERINAS.

“Cives Hymetti, gratus Atticæ lepos,
Virginæ volucres,
Flavæque veris filiæ !

“Fures rosarum, turba prædatrix thymi,
Nectaris artifices,
Bonæque ruris hospitæ !

“ Laboriosis quid juvat volatibus
 Rus et agros gravidis
 Perambulare crucibus,

“ Si Barberino delicata principe
 Sæcula melle fluant,
 Parata vobis sæcula ? ”

Dr. Maginn has imitated this in his usual tasteful manner, preserving the spirit of the original very well, but making us regret that his translations are not more literal.

“ TO THE BEES.

“ Citizens of Mount Hymettus,
 Attic laborers who toil,
 Never ceasing till ye get us
 Winter store of honeyed spoil !

“ Nectar, ye, with sweets and odors,
 Hebes of the hive, compose ;
 Flora’s privileged marauders,
 Chartered pirates of the rose !

“ Gypsy tribe, gay, wild, and vagrant ;
 Winged poachers of the dawn ;
 Sporting in each meadow fragrant,
 Thieving it on every lawn !

“ Every plant and flower ye touch on
 Wears, I ween, a fresher grace,
 For ye form the proud escutcheon
 Of the Barberini race.

“ Seek no more with tuneful humming
 Where the juicy floweret grows ;
 Halcyon days for you are coming,
 Days of plenty and repose.

“ Myrtle groves are fast distilling
 Honey ; honeyed falls the dew,
 Ancient prophecies fulfilling
 A millenium for you ! ”

The first Latin poetry of celebrity that England produced was May’s *Supplement to the Pharsalia* of Lucan, carrying it down to the death of Cæsar. This is spoken of as being both an excellent imitation of Lucan, and a spirited poem in itself. Buchanan’s version of the *Psalms*, particularly the

cxixvii.th, has been much admired. Another Scotchman, Arthur Johnston, published later a version of the Psalms, thought to be nearly as good as that of Buchanan; but, in his extreme desire for classical diction, he has used such epithets, that it would be difficult to tell whether we were reading odes to the Hebrew Jehovah or the classic Jove. We remember having seen a translation of the book of Job into Latin verse, by some Scotch poet; but as it would have required the patience of Job to read it, we cannot speak from a personal knowledge of its merits.

Milton is the greatest poet of modern times who has attempted Latin verse, and his poems, although written at a very early age, hold a high rank among this class of productions. Hallam says concerning them,—"They are in themselves full of classical elegance, of thoughts natural and pleasing, of a diction culled with taste from the gardens of ancient poetry, of a versification remarkably well cadenced and grateful to the ear. There is in them, without a marked originality, which Latin verse can rarely admit but at the price of some incorrectness or impropriety, a more individual display of the poet's mind than we usually find." Warton thought that Ovid was Milton's model, but that his versification was "more clear, intelligible, and flowing; less desultory, less familiar, and less embarrassed with a frequent recurrence of periods." The wonder is, how a mind of the originality and vastness of Milton's could have contracted itself to such a species of imitative labor as Latin versification. It has always seemed to us that Milton has caught more of the true classic spirit in some of his English poems than in his Latin. We know not how we could convey to the unlearned reader a more just idea of the terse elegance of some of the odes of Horace than by referring him to some of Milton's sonnets, especially that to Mr. Lawrence, and that to Cyriac Skinner, beginning, —

"Cyriac, whose grandsire on the royal bench."

That particular excellence of the Latin, the power of saying much in few words, Milton has here.

Cowley wrote good Latin verses; his "*Epitaphium vivi Auctoris*" is very pleasing. Later, there are the Latin poems of Addison, which are also good, as might be expected from his intimate acquaintance with the whole range of Latin poetry. He has a purity of style, an easy flow of versifica-

tion, and an occasional touch of quiet humor, somewhat like that of Vincent Bourne. Christopher Smart, the translator of Horace, a man of considerable talent, wrote Latin poetry which was admired in his day. He translated Pope's *Essay on Criticism* into hexameters. The Latin versifiers of those days often tried their hands upon Pope, and one enthusiastic admirer, a Doctor Fitzpatrick, not satisfied with translating his works, Latinized his name also, after a singular fashion, astonishing us with a book purporting to be "*Poppii Carmina.*" Gray's Sapphics and Alcaics we used to admire, and think that they do not diminish his reputation as a lyric poet. His annotators, Warton and Wakefield, are also considered elegant Latin poets. Dr. Johnson, it has been sarcastically remarked, read the bad poetry of the Middle Ages, till he could no more distinguish the beauties of that of the Augustan age than an habitual drunkard can appreciate the flavor of delicate wines. However this may be, it is certain that his own Latin poetry is not very remarkable.

It would be very easy to select a long catalogue of distinguished Englishmen who have written Latin poetry, because this branch of study is so much cultivated at the great schools and universities. Every one who has received a classical education can make Latin verses of some sort or other, and in such a quantity there are occasionally found some that are rather good. The collections, "*Musæ Anglicanæ,*" "*Etonenses,*" and "*Cantabrigienses,*" occasionally afford something which repays the trouble of perusal; and a later one, the "*Arundines Cami,*" of which we have given the full title, and which was noticed in the *North American Review* some years ago, contains many very beautiful translations. The two great universities had a custom of pouring forth a multitude of Latin odes and elegies, whenever any one of the royal family was born, married, or died, and this course was followed by our own ancient seat of learning, which, before the war of the Revolution, used to send forth its regular volumes of hexameters, elegiacs, and sapphics, very little inferior, as far as we can see, to those of its namesake across the water.

We have pursued our subject far enough. These retrospective glances, though they may amuse for a time, are hardly in consonance with the onward spirit of the age we live in, whose energy reflects itself in its literature.

ART. VIII. — MEMOIR OF CHANNING.*

WE have not waited in vain. The result of Mr. Channing's labors justifies the delay. It is here abundantly manifest that it was through no want of interest in his work, or of care in its performance, that these volumes have been so long in making their appearance.

When the intimate relation in which the biographer of Dr. Channing stood to his subject, and his well-known and enthusiastic devotion to a cause wellnigh as unpopular in this region as it is philanthropic, are considered, the judgment with which this work has been prepared becomes remarkable, and demands our emphatic commendation. In writing the life of a relative whom he venerated, in the holiest sense of the word, as a father, Mr. Channing has been in imminent peril of having his love of truth superseded by his affection. Yet while his language expresses a depth of veneration for his uncle which we should have been sorry to miss, and which shows that by no one was Dr. Channing more lovingly and reverently appreciated, he does not omit to note the limitations, as they must at least have appeared to him, by which certain stages in his spiritual history were marked. As an Associationist, also, a conspicuous and zealous advocate of doctrines which, whether true or false, we may safely say, are everywhere derided and spoken against without being understood, and with which, we presume, Mr. Channing identifies the highest truth and the purest Christianity, he was under no slight temptation to find in the writings of his uncle what authority he might for his own peculiar faith. But he has placed himself in the background. He has had no case to make out except to show Dr. Channing as he was. By this wisdom he must win for himself and for the peculiar opinions with which he is associated a respectful consideration, which no express argument that he could offer for the faith that he loves could possibly command.

We were quite unprepared for so minute and pleasing an account, as is contained in this Memoir, of Dr. Channing's early years. It is one of the chief excellences of the work. The picture of his youth, in its spiritual aspects, harmonizes

* *Memoir of William Ellery Channing, with Extracts from his Correspondence and Manuscripts. In three Volumes.* Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 427, 459, 494.

with all our impressions of him. The lineaments are the same throughout. There is the same gentleness, the same quietude, the same saintliness. It is always difficult, however, and it especially baffles one in his younger years, to conceive how it was, in regard to their outward appearance, in their youth, with those whom he has personally known only in their maturity. And in the case of Dr. Channing, the extreme slightness of his figure, indicating, as it would seem, great constitutional delicacy, had led our imagination far away from the idea of a bright-cheeked, curly-headed boy, and fixed in our mind the idea that his childhood must have been sickly. And yet we are not sure that we had not heard that he had once known the vigor and bloom of health. Still an impression has always remained with us, an impression which his personal appearance always renewed, that he was feeble from the first. The reader of these memoirs is struck, therefore, with the contrast "between the blooming picture of his boyhood" and "the wasted form, thin features, and sunken eyes of the preacher, whose spirit seemed about to cast aside the body." There is an unexpected charm, indeed, in the whole narrative, — in all the circumstances of Dr. Channing's early life, as they are described in the second chapter of the First Part of this work, in the character of his parents, in the natural scenery amidst which his boyish years were spent, in the reverend personages to whom he early looked up with awe, in the description of his influence and bearing among his playmates, — not forgetting the schoolmistress, an account of whom we have in Dr. Channing's own words, which we cannot resist the pleasure of quoting.

"I was a little amused," he writes in a letter, "with the objection which you say the —s made to your proposed school, that you want those essential qualifications of a teacher, — gray hairs and spectacles. This objection brought back to my mind the venerable schoolmistress under whose care my infant faculties were unfolded. She, indeed, would have suited the —s to a hair. Her nose was peculiarly privileged and honored, for it bore *two* spectacles. The locks which strayed from her close mob-cap were most evidently the growth of other times. She sat in a large easy-chair, and, unlike the insect forms of modern days, she filled the capacious seat. Her title was *Madam*, a title which she exclusively enjoyed. When we entered her door we kissed our hands, and *Madam* was the first word which escaped our lips. But I would not have you suppose that there was nothing but a title, and spectacles, and gray locks, to insure our respect.

Madam was wiser than the —s. She did not trust chiefly to age. On the right arm of her easy-chair there reclined what to common eyes appeared only a long round stick ; but so piercing was its vision, so quick its hearing, so rapid its motions, so suddenly did it reach the whispering or idle delinquent, that Ovid, had he known it, would have been strongly tempted to trace it, by many a strange metamorphosis, back to Argus, or some other watchful, sleepless being of ancient mythology. We, trembling wights, were satisfied with feeling, and had no curiosity to explore its hidden properties. Do you ask where this mysterious wand is to be found ? I fear it is irrecoverably lost. The storm of revolution, which has so lately passed over us, not contented with breaking the sceptres and hurling down the thrones of monarchs, burst into the school-room, and Madam's title and rod were swept away in the general desolation." — Vol. 1. pp. 23, 24.

We are further and particularly indebted to this Memoir for showing us, as it does so fully, that the deep interest which Dr. Channing cherished in his latter years in the abolition of slavery, and which increased every year until this subject became the chief topic of his thoughts and his pen, was no sudden growth, but the natural offspring of a mind whose habitual and predominating principle was a love of freedom. We confess, that, with a deep sense of Dr. Channing's exalted character, we have still had the impression, produced by the distrust and disapprobation of the leading Abolitionists expressed in his earlier Antislavery publications, that he did not escape the influence of those popular prejudices which at one time infected nearly the whole community. But that he was utterly unconscious of any weakness impairing his judgment, that his earnest desire was to be just, is manifest, not only in that his censure of the Abolitionists was slight, and that, so far from urging what he accounted their errors as an excuse for his own silence, he was always growing in Antislavery zeal, but in various particulars stated in these memoirs. The testimony of Mrs. Child is striking.

"At every interview" with Dr. Channing, she remarks in a letter referring so far back as the year 1833, "I could see that he grew bolder and stronger on the subject, while I felt that I grew wiser and more just. At first I thought him timid, and even slightly timeserving ; but I soon discovered that I formed this estimate from ignorance of his character. I learned that it was justice to *all*, not popularity for *himself*, which made him so cautious. He constantly grew upon my respect, until I came to re-

gard him as the wisest, as well as the gentlest, apostle of humanity. I owe him thanks for preserving me from the one-sidedness into which zealous reformers are so apt to run. He never sought to undervalue the importance of Antislavery, but he said many things to prevent my looking upon it as the *only* question interesting to humanity. My mind needed this check; and I never think of his 'many-sided' conversations without deep gratitude.

"Dr. Channing's interest in the subject constantly increased, and I never met him without being struck with the progress he had made in overcoming some difficulty, which, for the time, troubled his sensitive conscience. I can now distinctly recollect several such steps. At one time he was very doubtful whether it were right to petition Congress. He afterwards headed a petition himself. In all such cases he was held back by the conscientious fear of violating some other duty, in endeavouring to do his duty to the slave. Some zealous reformers did not understand this; and thus construed into a love of popularity what was, in fact, but a fine sense of justice, a more universal love of his species." — Vol. III. pp. 154, 155.

We would gladly quote, in this connection, Mr. May's letter which follows the letter from Mrs. Child from which the foregoing is extracted; but we must content ourselves here with simply saying, that we know not which is more to be admired, the power and fidelity of the appeal which Mr. May made to Dr. Channing, or the simplicity and greatness with which it was received. From a letter written by Dr. Channing in 1835, it may be clearly perceived that his interest in the aim of the Abolitionists was in no degree lessened by his impression of their lack of wisdom.

"I have this moment seen in the Daily Advertiser," he writes, "that a meeting is to be held on Friday afternoon, in Boston, on the subject of slavery. I cannot but look forward to this meeting with great solicitude. I have seen with sorrow the influence of the unwise proceedings of Antislavery societies in impairing among us the true moral feeling in regard to this tremendous evil; and I cannot but fear that our citizens, in their zeal to oppose an extravagant party, may prove unfaithful to those great principles of freedom and equal rights on which our glory as a community rests. If the meeting will satisfy itself with pronouncing severe reprobation on any attempt to stir up the slaves to revolt, with deprecating the circulation of inflammatory pamphlets among them, and with disclaiming all desire in the North to interfere by any political action with slavery in the Slave States, no harm will be done. I am not aware, however, that the Antislavery societies

have advanced any principles, or adopted any measures, which call for such rebuke and such disclaimer. If they have, I shall not find fault with a public expression of reprehension, though the wisdom of such a censure may be doubted.

“But in attempting to put down a party, let not great principles be touched or compromised. Let it not be forgotten, that liberty is above all price, and that to rob a fellow-creature of it is to inflict the greatest wrong. Any resolve passed at the proposed meeting, implying, however indirectly, that a human being can rightfully be held and treated as property, — any resolve intended to discourage the free expression of opinion on slavery, or to sanction the lawless violence which has been directed against the Antislavery societies, — any resolve implying that the Christian and philanthropist may not strive to abolish slavery by moral influences, by appeals to the reason, conscience, and heart of the slaveholder, — any resolve expressing stronger sympathy with the slaveholder than with the slave, or tending at all to encourage the continuance of slavery, — will afflict me beyond measure.” — Vol. III. pp. 167, 168.

It will be seen from this letter how distinctly Dr. Channing qualified his condemnation of the Abolitionists. He here explicitly acquits them of any design of stirring up the slaves to revolt, or of disseminating among them incendiary publications. At one time these were current charges against those obnoxious men, and they are still heard in various quarters, although they prove nothing but the ignorance and prejudice of those who urge them. His chief objection against the leaders of the Antislavery movement was the strength of their language. And yet, as his biographer fitly asks, “Might not his own words well have recurred to him in extenuation of what he thought their excesses? ‘At such periods, men gifted with great powers of thought and loftiness of sentiment are especially summoned to the conflict with evil. They hear, as it were, in their own magnanimity and generous aspirations, the voice of a divinity; and, thus commissioned, and burning with passionate devotion to truth and freedom, they must and will speak with an indignant energy, and they ought not to be measured by the standard of ordinary minds in ordinary times. Men of natural softness and timidity, of a sincere but effeminate virtue, will be apt to look on these bolder, hardier spirits as violent, perturbed, and uncharitable, and the charge will not be wholly groundless. But that deep feeling of evils, which is necessary to effectual conflict with them, and which marks God’s most powerful messengers to

mankind, cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul will speak strongly, and ought to speak so as to move and shake nations,' " — " shaking the very earth," as George Fox says, " for twenty miles round." Standing, as we fancy ourselves while reading these memoirs, at the grave of our venerated friend, we are conscious of breathing no word in discordance with his sainted spirit, when we say, that, were he appealed to now, he would be prompt to acknowledge the help which he and all of us received from those who first addressed themselves to the abolition of slavery, the great work of our country and our day.

Another particular in regard to which this Memoir has impressed us deeply is Dr. Channing's activity, or, to use a homelier word still, his industry. We all saw that he was very frail. Before he rose in the pulpit, one wondered whence the strength to make himself heard in the large and crowded church was to come. And yet, so profound was the interest he awakened by his public ministrations, so great was the impatience to hear him, that even those who admired him most ardently, but whose personal acquaintance with him was slight, were apt to think that he nursed himself too tenderly. These memoirs satisfy us that he kept on the verge of his physical strength, — that he expended without stint all the health that he gained. We were, indeed, prepared for the full revelation in these pages of his activity, by what we witnessed of it on the occasion of one of his last visits to Philadelphia, when he wrote and delivered, amidst numerous distractions, within a space so brief that he must have filled it with labor, his Lecture on the Universality of the Age and his Discourse on the Church, each occupying about an hour and a half in the delivery. We can well understand how those " who were near him felt shamed by an energy, that, amidst such constant hindrances, accomplished so much."

" His seemingly inactive life was not a chosen, but an imposed, form of existence. Essentially, he was a person of strong will, keenly sensitive, large in affection, earnest in purpose, brave, though prudent, and indomitable in cheerful trust. Fluent in enthusiasm, guided on by a bright ideal, sympathizing profoundly with his race in their trials and struggles, refreshed in faith from on high, he was designed, apparently, to have poured abroad a river of good influence in varied action. But the accidents of birth in an age of unsettled opinions, and still more of a shattered constitution, diverted his energies into a broad, deep lake of con-

templation. Regarding his life as a whole, and considering how he was hemmed in at once by speculative difficulties and bodily infirmity, it is indeed remarkable that he should have so identified himself with his fellow-men in all lands and conditions, and have made his power so widely felt." — Vol. III. p. 388.

It is interesting, also, to perceive — what, indeed, was apparent to all who enjoyed any personal acquaintance with Dr. Channing — how he was continually growing. His youthfulness, instead of vanishing, as it usually does, increased with the increase of years. Latterly he seemed to take a new pleasure in social intercourse. It could not well have been otherwise than that he should grow ; for the life of his life was not a doctrine or a form, but a spirit ; and growth, expansiveness, is an essential property or characteristic of the spirit. To the spirit of truth, of freedom, and humanity, his whole life was a steady and cheerful offering. So long as the spirit of free thought was connected with the conflict about doctrines, — with the Unitarian controversy, — that controversy interested him. When it took another shape and made its appeal through the despised and injured African, then it took possession of his whole heart. No opinions, however extravagant, alarmed him, so long as he was satisfied that they indicated intellectual life and freedom. He could see and honor the heroism of those with whose bold utterances he had no sympathy. Mr. Channing alludes to the rumors, that went abroad shortly after his uncle's decease, of his change of faith. We have thought that we knew how those rumors arose. We have heard Dr. Channing, in his later years, say that he cared little for mere doctrinal Unitarianism ; the great social principles of Christianity, the cause of humanity, interested him more. It is easy to see how remarks of this sort, coming to the ears of those who consider a lack of interest in Unitarianism as equivalent to an increased interest in opposite forms of faith, should produce the impression of such a change in Dr. Channing as was at one time reported. Dr. Channing's sympathies with his fellow-men were in no degree restricted. There are philanthropists, and zealous ones too, who look with indifference, if not with contempt, upon all modes of benevolence except that to which they are specially devoted. The genuineness of Dr. Channing's philanthropy appears in the welcome which he gave to all laborers in the field of the world, let their special objects be what they might.

It seems to be generally, and, as we conceive, justly thought, that Dr. Channing's power and the attendant celebrity lay, not in any special originality of mind, but in the singular beauty and fervor with which he gave expression to the highest thoughts of the time, — to thoughts which were beginning to germinate everywhere. He was, to an extent far beyond any other writer of the day, the voice proclaiming what a large and rapidly increasing portion of society were growing restless to utter. It was not surprise or admiration at the novelty of his views which his writings awakened, but an unmixed delight at having, what all who read his discourses with interest were beginning more or less distinctly to think and feel, so worthily expressed. And the aid which he has rendered in the advancement of men's minds consists rather in showing us where we stand, the broad and solid ground we occupy, than in preceding us. Delighting in large general views, he raised his readers to a lofty height, and we were made to see the grand world we live in, and the benignant Providence bending over us. As he thus stimulated the best tendencies of the age by furnishing them with an eloquent articulation, it is apparent, at the same time, that by these tendencies his modes of thought and expression were in a measure formed. So far as he was a creator of the present period in the history of thought and opinion among us, he became so by being its creation. His style of writing shows traces occasionally of the grandiloquence, "the western orientalism," so characteristic of our country and our day. And his favorite topics of thought were evidently caught in part from those hints of greatness and promise given by the higher sentiments and aspirations of our nature in the revolutions of the century and the rapidly increasing improvements in the arts of life.

A partial illustration of the foregoing remarks may be found in Dr. Channing's relation to the Unitarian denomination. The growth of liberal sentiments in New England, and here and there throughout the country, dates from before his time. But Unitarians were not extensively known as a religious body in America until the publication of his discourse at the ordination of Mr. Sparks in Baltimore, in 1819. That discourse contained a formal annunciation and distinct embodiment of Unitarianism. The elements of the liberal body, previously to some extent mixed up and held in solution with Orthodoxy, were instantly crystallized, and from that moment the division lines were firmly drawn. The

discourse was not characterized by any great novelty or boldness of statement, nor did it present views imposing for their originality ; but it was a lucid and felicitous expression of opinion, faithfully representing the state of mind at which a large portion of the community had arrived. It was the word in season distinctly uttered. And those whose views it stated immediately breathed more freely, and knew where they stood, and felt that a step had been taken in the onward way. Bolder statements, statements more accordant with the opinions existing at subsequent periods, have certainly been made since, if they were not made before. Dr. Channing might himself, we presume, at a later period, have given, not an opposite, but a somewhat different, account of his theological position ; still the Baltimore sermon was the word for the time, expressing just what was needed. It gave its author the name of leader and head of the Unitarian denomination in this country, although we had far more accomplished theologians, and no individual was farther from claiming any authority in matters of opinion. He very rarely occupied himself with doctrinal discussions. Upon the mere letter of the Unitarian faith, no one could have exerted, or sought to exert, less influence. But its spirit, the life and principle of progress in the Unitarian movement in this country, has been aided by no other so vigorously. Indeed, Dr. Channing, a Unitarian, liberal Christian, in full communion with the Unitarian denomination, was never the apostle of a doctrine or a sect. In 1815, he wrote thus :—“ Christianity, we must always remember, is a temper and a spirit, rather than a doctrine.”* This he never forgot. The sentiment here expressed is a pervading principle in all his writings. To reveal and apply the spirit of Christianity, those truths which are sources of life and elevation to the character of men, was the object always kept in view. When he discussed doctrines, it was always in their connection with those grand central principles of life and character, which no writer of our day more profoundly appreciated or more eloquently set forth. Not by logic or criticism did he accelerate the growth of liberal opinions. More, we believe, was done for Unitarianism, for the promotion of liberal modes of thinking, for, in fact, the spirit of Christianity itself, so far as that has been connected with Unitarianism, by his secular writings, his essays

* Memoir, Vol. I. p. 379.

on Milton and Napoleon, for instance, (the former of which was first published in this journal in 1826,) than by all his theological writings, — we might almost say, more than has been done by all the doctrinal and controversial productions of the denomination put together. And this in part because subjects which were not peculiar and professional, but of universal interest, afforded him the best occasion for the demonstration, in his own eloquent way, of those high and comprehensive modes of thought in which he took such great delight.

And here we are led to remark, generally, that whatever respect the Unitarian body has commanded, whatever power it has exercised among the liberalizing influences of the day, must be attributed, we apprehend, less to the theological and doctrinal works, various and able as they are, which have proceeded from the denomination, than to the writings of a few distinguished individuals of the sect upon other subjects than theology. The representatives of a religious denomination are always, from the circumstance of their position, clergymen. As their attention is exclusively confined to theological topics, and they seldom or never write on other subjects, intelligent men of other professions and pursuits have scanty means of ascertaining what reason there may be for the high reputation which a clergyman may have for learning, intellect, or genius. The whole subject of theology is, or is supposed to be, so involved in mystery, its phraseology is so ambiguous, that intelligent laymen, unless they happen to be particularly interested in the question in dispute, (and then their judgment is apt to be committed,) will hardly undertake to decide what amount of intellectual ability is shown in a theological discussion. A clergyman must quit his polemics, and turn and speak on some more familiar and popular subject, before it can be determined what manner of man, intellectually speaking, he is. As the case has been, there are few things more factitious than the intellectual reputation of the clergy. A member of this profession may be highly extolled as a man of many and wonderful parts, while his sole gift (if gift it be, and no mere trick or sleight-of-hand) is the power of fluent utterance, captivating that sex whose sensibilities are oftentimes more voluble than discriminating. As there is no power wielded by mortal man so great as that of eloquence, it continually happens, that, if a man possesses or appears to possess it, in ever so

humble measure, he instantly has credit given him for every grace and gift under heaven. Thus, in the goodness of their hearts, the multitude have conspired to extol the clergy, until this class would seem to have monopolized all the learning and wisdom of the land. Hence it is that the colleges and universities which no man can number, and which appear to have come, over all the West, like reading and writing, by nature, are incessantly drawing upon the clergy to fill their presidential and professorial chairs. Under these circumstances, we cannot help thinking that there must lurk, among intelligent men of other professions, a skepticism as to the soundness of the reputation so often enjoyed by clergymen for learning and intellectual ability. Indeed, there are many and melancholy indications that this most important class do not have the hold upon the respect of the community which they are presumed to have, and which they should have, if they possessed the talent and learning often ascribed to them. At all events, nothing has tended so effectually to raise the Unitarian body in the respect of the world at large, as the intellectual power and lofty habits of thinking evinced particularly in those writings of Dr. Channing to which we have referred, and the rare mental culture apparent in the writings of other Unitarian clergymen, some still living, whom we might name. The service thus rendered to Liberal Christianity was incidental and undesigned, but none the less substantial on that account. In portraying the genius of the loftiest of the poets, in arraigning the greatest soldier of the world, Dr. Channing manifested an eloquence of language, an intellectual power, and a perception of truth and beauty, which made themselves to be widely felt. The religious body with which he was associated shared in the respect which he inspired. But by looking only to the estimation which was thus won for the Unitarian denomination, we see only half the good that was done. In every mind in which the sentiment of respect was awakened, displacing bigotry and prejudice, the very life of Christianity was breathed. No better work can be done, — none certainly that Dr. Channing was more interested in doing, — than to bring men to honor their fellow-men. He rendered no greater service.

The reference which we have just made to those essays, by which Dr. Channing's literary fame was suddenly and widely expanded, calls to mind one of the most peculiar and

interesting aspects of his character, his utter indifference to literary reputation. He could not bring himself to read the reviews which were published of his works, even though they appeared in the most celebrated journals of the day, and were understood to come from the pens of eminent men. He wrote and he published for the sake of what he held to be momentous truth, and, so that the truth was diffused, he was willing to be praised or blamed. He was sorry to be found fault with, only as it might deter people from the truth which it had been his aim to present. No one could speak to him about his writings, without perceiving that this was the temper of his mind. His style of writing, also, shows that literary renown was no object with him. While it recommends itself to a pure taste, and manifests care and polish, and shows traces, as we have intimated, of the sort of writing so fashionable in these days, and so apt to run into declamation, yet one sees in it everywhere a chastened fancy. He is never run away with by a metaphor. His figures of speech are merely hinted at, never elaborately wrought out. In all his writings we can now recall but one passage in which the mere figure by which his thoughts is expressed strikes us for its beauty and completeness, although we cannot read any one page in which the fancy is not stimulated by forms of speech that suggest more than they appear to express. In his Lecture on the Universality of the Age, he speaks of the kite, by which Franklin drew the lightning from the skies, as remaining visible to the eye of posterity, through the night of time, long after the city where he dwelt should be a buried ruin. But what we wish to say is far better said in his memoirs. We quote the following passages, because they state so distinctly what we have ourselves felt was the truth in regard to Dr. Channing's literary character. They strike us as eminently just. After giving extracts from various letters in which Dr. Channing expresses the estimate he had formed of his own labors in a literary point of view, his biographer observes : —

“It thus appears how incidentally Dr. Channing entered the sphere of literature. The *ethical* element was the predominant one in his nature ; and although his love of beauty was too strong, independent [independently] of overmastering enthusiasm, ever to have permitted him to be a mere dilettante, it was not so active as to make him dissatisfied until he had concentrated into a symmetric work of art his thought and emotion. He was too

earnest as a prophet to waste hours, which were only too swift in their flight for one so feeble, upon giving form to the inspiring truth which he knew he was called to communicate. Fully aware as he was, too, that he had attained but to glimpses of most glorious realities, he could not be so presumptuous and irreverent as to attach an unreal value to what he humbly regarded as fragmentary suggestions; and the conceptions struggling within him, over which he delightedly brooded, in meditative days and wakeful nights, were so sweet and majestic, that any portraiture of them would have seemed incomplete and unfinished. He could give, at the best, but a sketch of his meaning, like a child's rough outline of some statue or landscape. His chief care, therefore, was, to be true; and he left his expression to take its hue and shape spontaneously. A glance at his manuscripts shows how unlabored was his style. The corrections are, for the most part, erasures; and, where words are exchanged for others, in all cases, it is by substitution of a simple phrase for a composite one. Systematically, from even early years, he disciplined his fancy to severe soberness; though any one who knew him intimately could not but see how richly stored were his galleries of thought with exquisite natural images. He feared that the sense of the hearer or reader would be lured from the aspect of truth to the splendor of her robes by the use of metaphor, and so habitually checked his instinctive propensity to present laws and principles by the medium of symbols. His effort was, to utter himself plainly.

“And in the last era of his life, until within a very few years before his death, he had the same disinclination to make any special call upon the attention of his fellow-men. Apart from the restraints of his native modesty, and the influence of his lofty ideal, measured by whose standard most of the literature of the age appeared tame and frivolous, he was so eager to climb to serener heights, that it satisfied him to send forth a cheering cry to brethren struggling upwards through the shadows, as prospects of beauty opened amidst the fog. His publications were still occasional addresses, drawn from him by request. Friends urged him continually to embody his thoughts in a more permanent form, to which he replied, that they were not quite ripe. And when besought at least to revise, select, and print in a volume what he had already given to the public, he could not be prevailed upon to think it of sufficient importance to authorize his expending on such a work hours which he felt bound to consecrate to progressive inquiry.

“At length the desire to aid in giving a higher tone and securing a wider sphere of influence to the Christian Disciple, which

in 1824 was enlarged, and took a new form under the name of the *Christian Examiner*, drew from him some essays, which attained a most unlooked-for celebrity, and made him universally known in the world of letters. The attention excited by these papers was a great surprise to him, and he always considered the estimate placed upon them by the public exaggerated. These hasty effusions, which, considered as literary models, he valued but little, let a sympathizing reader very deeply into the essential spirit of the man. His tender sensibility, delicacy of taste, chivalric heroism, loyal love of truth, high integrity, expansiveness, aspiration, pervade the notice of the sublime poet and stern republican. His profound veneration for man, grand estimate of the end and method of life, and devout confidence in God's infinite purposes of benignity to his human family, give to his searching analysis of the springs of action in the military despot an awful sincerity; and as the culprit is brought before the piercing eyes of the congregated spiritual world, stripped of the tinsel rags of false glory, pity prompts the reader to recall every good trait and deed, as a mantle to cover his shame. The uncompromising conscience of the writer here appears with the grave, firm aspect of an impartial judge upon the bench." — Vol. II. pp. 334 – 339.

So devoid was Dr. Channing of all concern for literary distinction, and so manifest was his insensibility in this regard, that one was all but invited to criticize his literary productions in his presence with entire freedom. At least, all apologies for so doing were felt to be out of place. There was no danger of wounding his vanity, for there was none to be wounded. We recollect, that, upon remarking to him, on one occasion, that the criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*, attributed to Lord Brougham, and singular for the care with which it was restricted to one essay of Dr. Channing's, that on Milton, and to one sentiment expressed in that essay, struck us on the whole as just, he replied, "I think it very likely; I have never read the article." A previous review of his works had appeared in the same celebrated journal, which was attributed to Mr. Hazlitt, and was marked by the passionate ill-will and eagerness to disparage, so characteristic of the man. It threw not a shadow of irritation over Dr. Channing's mind. Mr. Hazlitt, nevertheless, interested him greatly, and still stood high in his opinion, as a writer of no ordinary power. It may be doubted whether another instance can be found of an individual arresting so much attention in the literary world, and yet claiming no place there, finding

himself a literary man by accident. The laurels that were showered upon him he took not the slightest pains to gather or preserve. If they appeared to be falling off, he did not even carry himself with the slightest care to keep them on. If a hand was extended to pluck them from him, he showed no sign of resistance, nor did a shade of mortified vanity ever darken those thoughtful and beaming eyes. If his distinguished reviewers thought to wound and humble him, as, from their occasional strength of phrase, would seem to have been their design, never was expectation more completely disappointed. He barely knew of their assaults; they fell far short of his equanimity. He thought even less of the arrows that were discharged at him than the lion of the dew-drops on his mane, for he never stirred to shake them off.

We are the more impressed with this trait in Dr. Channing's character, because, as we apprehend, it is to be accounted for only in one way. He had a keen relish for literary truth and beauty. We remember how his face lightened up as he pronounced Charles Lamb's English the purest of these modern times. Why, then, was he so indifferent to his own literary celebrity? Mainly because he was a great deal more than a mere literary man. His whole being was wrapped up in the cause of those sacred and beneficent truths by which souls are to be saved, and nations revolutionized, and the whole world blest. He dwelt in a world hung round, not with the fading chaplets of human renown, but with crowns of unfading glory. He was listening in the secrecy of his own thoughts to the ravishing music of voices speaking better things than the praises of men.

After all, whatever consideration Dr. Channing gained and whatever power he exerted by his writings, his chief sphere of influence during the larger part of his life was the pulpit. There he stood to the community in a relation of which they who never shared in its privileges can scarcely form an idea. Of his power as a preacher, neither do these memoirs, full and interesting as they are, nor could any that might be written, convey an adequate impression. The eloquence of his writings survives him, the printed page breathes his spirit; but the eloquence of his speech, — of his manner, his appearance, his tones, — that has vanished with him, or lingers, for a brief space, in the memory of those whose happiness it is to have heard him. Our regret on this account is unavailing, since it could not be otherwise. It is often so. It was so

when Henry Ware died, and Mr. Greenwood, and Mr. Buckminster. Apart from the influence of their characters, their power as servants in the public cause of truth lay, not in the power of intellect, not in any peculiar depth of thought, but in the irresistible attraction of their utterance. Do they not still live with those who used to listen to them, chiefly by those moving tones which float now in our remembrance like angel-voices overheard? And it must always be that the power of the spoken word cannot be described. It is, and must be, confined to those who hear it. Yet we cannot help wishing it were within our ability to give to those who never enjoyed the privilege of hearing Dr. Channing some idea of the impressiveness of his public ministrations. The attempt, we know, is vain. We take leave, however, to state briefly our own impressions of Dr. Channing in the pulpit, because we think that there he was truly original and great, like no other.

The same indifference which he showed to literary fame appeared so plainly in him, also, in regard to his fame as a preacher, that no one who knew him could style him a pulpit orator, or use any phrase, in describing his power as a preacher, indicative of any acquired or artificial grace. All such modes of speaking are felt to lack congruity with the character of the man.

“The seriousness of his deportment, the depth and sweetness of his voice, the pathos with which he read the Scriptures and sacred poetry, the solemnity of his appeals, his rapt and kindling enthusiasm, his humble, trustful spirit of prayer, his subdued feeling, so expressive of personal experience, made religion a new reality; while his whole air and look of spirituality won the devoutly disposed to listen by its mild and somewhat melancholy beauty. The most trifling saw in him a man thoroughly in earnest, who spoke not of dreams and fictions, but of facts with which he was intimately conversant; and the serious gladly welcomed one who led the way and beckoned them nearer to the holy of holies which they aspired to enter. Intellectual people, too, were attracted by the power and grace of his pulpit addresses.” — Vol. i. p. 205.

The most singular thing in his utterance was the extraordinary flexibility of his voice, its vast and “undulating” variety of modulation. It seemed to us like one of those delicate scientific instruments, invented to detect and measure

the subtlest elements in nature, and sensitive to the slightest influence, — as, for instance, those nicely adjusted scales which vibrate under the small dust on the balance or the weight of a hair. It rose and fell so strangely in the course of the simplest and most commonplace sentence, in the utterance of a single word often, that his hearers felt immediately that here was a speaker of a novel kind, and they watched to see how he could possibly become, according to any ordinary sense of the word, eloquent. If our readers who were wont to hear him will recall the word “immortality” as spoken by Dr. Channing, they will understand what we endeavour to describe. His style of speaking, from this peculiarity, was instantly felt to be his own, — not the product of any art, but the gift of nature ; if indeed it could be thought a gift, and not a misfortune, when only its singularity was apparent, before its capabilities were witnessed and its wondrous power felt. There was no want of firmness in his tones, and yet they fluctuated continually. And the power of his voice lay in this, that, being thus flexible, it was true to every change of emotion that arose in his mind. How vividly do we remember, in a sermon in which he spoke of young men lounging on the steps of a hotel, what an unfathomable depth of mingled pity and contempt was expressed in that one word “hotel” as he uttered it ! It seemed to us at the time, that, if one had wished to write out the word as he spoke it, and so to give an idea of the power with which it was uttered, the whole wall of the church in which it was spoken would not have been large enough for the purpose. So, also, in the expression of tenderness, devotion, and awe, the tones of Dr. Channing’s voice conveyed and awakened those sentiments with such power, that the heavens seemed to open over our heads and a silence in itself awful filled all the place. But we must avail ourselves of the vivid words of his biographer.

“ And now let us go, on some Sunday morning, to the meeting-house in Federal Street, and hear for ourselves this wonderful preacher. The doors are crowded ; and as we enter, we see that there are but few vacant seats, and that the owners of the pews are hospitably welcoming strangers, whom the sexton is conducting up the aisles. There is no excitement in the audience, but deep, calm expectation. With a somewhat rapid and an elastic step, a person small in stature, thin and pale, and carefully enveloped, ascends the pulpit stair. It is he. For a moment he deliberately and benignantly surveys the large congregation, as

if drinking in the influence of so many human beings; and then, laying aside his outer garments, and putting on the black silk gown, he selects the hymn and passage from Scripture, and, taking his seat, awaits in quiet contemplation the time for commencing the service. What impresses us now, in his appearance, is its exceeding delicacy, refinement, and spiritualized beauty. In the hollow eye, the sunken cheeks, and the deep lines around the mouth, the chronic debility of many years has left an ineffaceable impress. But on the polished brow, with its rounded temples, shadowed by one falling lock, and on the beaming countenance, there hovers a serenity which seems to brighten the whole head with a halo.

"The voluntary on the organ has been played, the opening invocation has been offered by the assistant in the pulpit, and the choir and congregation have joined in singing the first hymn;—and now he rises, and, spreading out his arms, says,—‘Let us unite in prayer.’ What a welcome to near communion with the Heavenly Father is there in the tremulous tenderness of that invitation! This is a solemn reality, and no formal rite to him. The Infinite is here, around all, within all. What awful, yet confiding reverence, what relying affection, what profound gratitude, what unutterable longing, what consciousness of intimate spiritual relationship, what vast anticipations of progressive destiny, inspire these few, simple, measured, most variously modulated words! How the very peace of heaven seems to enter and settle down upon the hushed assembly!

"There follows a pause and perfect silence for a few moments, which the spirit feels its need of, that it may reassume its self-control and power of active thought. And now the Bible is opened; the chapter to be read is the fifteenth of the Gospel of John. The grand announcement is spoken, the majestic claim is made,—‘I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.’ How often we have heard these sentences! and yet did we ever before begin to know their exhaustless wealth of meaning? What depth, volume, expressiveness, in those intonations! ‘That *my joy* might remain in you, and that your joy might be *full*.’ No mere rhetorician, however trained and skilful, could have made these words so penetrating in pathetic sweetness, so invigorating in unbounded hope. The very smile and hand of the Saviour seem to have been upon us in blessing and power. The hymn is read. What melody! What cadence! The tone may be too prolonged, and too undulating the accent; but we can never, never again forget those lines

"The singing is over. The hearts of the hearers are attuned. The spirit of the preacher has already pervaded them, and softened them to harmony. It is the ‘new commandment’ of which he is

to discourse. He begins by portraying the overflowing sympathy with which Jesus forgot his own impending sufferings, in his desire to cheer the little band so soon to be scattered. We are there with them in the upper chamber; we are bathed in that flood of benignity. . . . Thus ends the first branch of the sermon. And now he is to assure us, all selfish, immersed in the busy anxieties of life, habitually incased in prejudices and conventionality, as we may be, that this spirit of unlimited brotherly kindness is the only befitting spirit for any man, for every man. . . . How carefully he meets and disarms objections! How calmly he removes all fear of undue enthusiasm! How deliberate and definite does he make the statement of his propositions! . . . Gradually he awakens the memory and conscience of his hearers, and reveals to them, from their own observation and experience, with a terrible distinctness of contrast, what the professed Christians of Christendom actually are. There are no expletives, no fulminations, no fanatical outpourings. But the small figure dilates,—the luminous gray eye now flashes with indignation, now softens in pity,—and the outstretched arm and clenched hand are lifted in sign of protest and warning, as the wrongs which man inflicts on man are presented with brief but glowing outlines.” — Vol. II. pp. 289–293.

There is in one of the volumes of Dr. Channing's printed works a discourse on Immortality. We recollect hearing, when it was first preached, that, at the close of certain passages, the whole audience were heard to draw breath. The same effect was remarked years afterwards, when the same discourse was delivered in New York. He used no excessive or artificial gesticulation. Such gestures as he made were, indeed, not *made*, — they were evidently the result of unconsciousness, in themselves neither awkward nor graceful. There was a sensibility in the expression of his eyes, which touched and attracted us long before we were old enough to know what it was in his countenance that so won us. The great charm of his manner as a speaker lay, however, in his intonations, in the deep spiritual expression of his voice. This, connected with the peculiar simplicity and beauty in which his thoughts rose and clothed themselves in words, established a perfect communion between him and his hearers. As the sentiments he uttered passed into their minds, you saw the electric flash accompanying the communication in their illuminated countenances. One felt, in listening to him, “as if,” to use the happy expression of Mr. Norton in his notice of Mr. Buckminster, “he were following in the tri-

umphant procession of truth." We cannot soon forget the impression made on the occasion of the lecture which he delivered before the Mercantile Library in Philadelphia. The place, the most spacious hall in the city, was thronged. His wide-spread reputation had preceded him. At first he was listened to with mere curiosity, but, as he went on, so deep was the silence, so frequent, so sudden, and yet so instantly suppressed, were the expressions of assent and applause, that one could not but feel that he was descending into the depths of his hearers' hearts, and awakening their noblest sentiments. "Why did he stop?" exclaimed one, as the people were retiring at the close of the lecture; "why did he not go on, and tell us what he thought about every thing?"

A similar question might have been asked, when his voice ceased altogether, and he was withdrawn from us by death. Alas! how sore is the need now, at home and abroad, of men who shall address and quicken our consciences in these disordered and bewildering times, not by telling us any thing new, but by reiterating the monitions of simple human duty! It is the great and world-wide want; — not celebrated men, — any man can be celebrated now-a-days; — but good men and true, with earnest hearts and large intellect and eloquent speech, to redeem us from utter folly. We pray for the appearance of such men. And until they come, we would cherish the memory of those who have left us, and make that a fountain of light and life. There are many among us who owe more than they can tell to Dr. Channing, who received from him impressions never to be erased. May his memory still dwell with us, and may all into whose hands this Memoir shall fall, recalling his saintly and venerable presence, consecrate themselves anew to that great cause of humanity which had his whole heart!

W. H. F.

ART. IX. — REV. OLIVER W. B. PEABODY.

THE recent death of one widely known as a man of fine intellectual powers, very dearly regarded in the circle of his personal friends, and highly esteemed as a Christian minister, calls on us to give some narrative of his life, and to attempt some record of the more prominent points of his character.

Oliver William Bourne Peabody was born at Exeter, N. H., on the 9th of July, 1799. He was twin brother of the late Rev. William Bourne Oliver Peabody, and, like him, bore the names of his father, the late Judge Peabody, and of his mother's father, Hon. William Bourne. The brothers grew up together, together were educated by Dr. Abbot in the academy of their native town, and together entered Harvard College, in 1812. From the moment of their birth to that of their separation, the last year, by the death of Dr. Peabody of Springfield, they were bound together by the closest attachment, and by a striking sympathy in tastes, which was marked by such occasional differences of temperament as strengthened and gave beauty to the union. The very strong personal resemblance between the two, which all their friends observed, was not more remarkable than this close union of sympathies and aims, which always lasted through difference of pursuits and of homes, and to which we now look back as if it were a forewarning to us that in death they would not long be parted.

The brothers entered college at an age now considered early, but even at that period Mr. Oliver Peabody showed traits of character and fancy which have since been familiar to his friends. "He was," in the words of one of his early friends, "a most amiable, pleasant young man, full of wit and most irresistible humor, with a keen sense of the ludicrous, and the power to communicate it to others. He had a love and talent for music, and played the flute and sang very agreeably. He was also fond of drawing, and sketched with great spirit and delicacy. He was always a most delightful companion, his conversation most agreeable, enriched as it was from his wide reading, from which he always had at hand the most apt illustrations."

On leaving college, Mr. Peabody studied his father's profession, under his father's direction, at Exeter. He spent some time, also, at the Law School in Cambridge, before he was admitted to the bar in New Hampshire. He then began the practice of the law in his native town. In the eleven years which followed, he was not confined to the cares of his profession alone. He was a member of the State legislature, and at different times took the editorial charge of the Rockingham Gazette and the Exeter News-Letter. In the files of these papers are articles from his pen sparkling with vivacity and humor. These, and other essays and

poems, which he published then and afterwards in various journals, are distinguished no less for brilliancy and freshness of thought than for a certain polished accuracy of style, the result of his patient and diligent care. Always nice in expression, always accurate in style, he was never formal, dull, or commonplace. His mind never lost that eagerness for fresh combinations, and for a distinct, unabused point of view, which had given to him his early humor and love of the ludicrous. This was the reason that he wrote so little in comparison with the great army of what are called literary men. But, for the same reason, there is scarcely any thing which he has written that is not worthy of publication, and that did not fully answer its purpose, whether to rouse a laugh as coming from the carrier of a newspaper, or as an episode in political controversy, or as demanding thought and study, when published in a review or delivered before a lyceum. We have had a crowd of essayists, in late years, who have sustained or weighed down the journals of the day. Mr. Peabody, in the years of his life of which we speak, and for some years afterwards, was called to the duty which they attempt. Many of his fellow-workmen wrote much more than he; but very few of them wrote so much that was never "skipped over" by weary readers, or that will be so long remembered. Many of our readers will recollect the poem which he delivered at Cambridge before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in 1823. When the citizens of Portsmouth celebrated the second centennial anniversary of that town, he delivered a poem which is still remembered with pleasure. He had early shown his poetical genius and facility of versification, — talents which he always possessed, though he used them too little. He and his brother each delivered a poem when they graduated at Cambridge, and there are several poems among the published papers to which we have alluded.

In 1830, Mr. Peabody removed to Boston, which was his home for most of the remainder of his life. His brother-in-law, Mr. A. H. Everett, was then the editor of the *North American Review*, and Mr. Peabody acted as a constant and valuable assistant to him in that duty. Till near the close of his life he was an occasional contributor to that journal, and for some years there is scarcely a volume which does not contain one or more articles from him. At the same time, for several years, he was an assistant editor of

the Boston Daily Advertiser, and some of his most pointed essays were published in that paper, as from time to time they were called forth by the changing aspects of political or literary affairs. There are certain duties of an editor's life for which he was peculiarly fitted. His very wide general information, frequently relating to subjects where the most careful books of reference are dumb and all indexes useless, served him especially, when called upon, as the editor of a daily journal constantly is, to illustrate unexpected movements and explain new events on the shortest notice.

Mr. Peabody served for two or three years as a member of the Massachusetts legislature. In the year 1836, he was appointed Register of Probate in Suffolk county. He filled the duties of this office until 1842. It is a laborious post, requiring, under the probate arrangements of this State, the constant personal attention of the incumbent, and close labor from him, if only as a copyist. But Mr. Peabody found time for literary studies and occupations. His daily exercise was made the means of that study of nature which he always loved. And, while both faithful and popular in an employment which is certainly not the most refreshing or invigorating, he was still to his friends, and to any whom he could serve, as full of spirit and life as he had ever been when engaged in more exciting daily duties. His health, however, always delicate, was impaired by the labors of the office, and in 1842 he resigned it, on accepting from Jefferson College, an institution endowed and supported by the State of Louisiana, an appointment as Professor of English Literature. He entered on the duties of this post in the autumn of that year. But the climate of Louisiana proved unfavorable to his constitution, and, unwilling to contend longer with the lassitude which it induced, he resigned his professorship the next year, and returned to the North.

It was at as recent a period as this that he entered directly upon the sphere of life which commends him especially to the interest of the readers of the Examiner. For many years, perhaps, he had wished to engage in the Gospel ministry. From his early days he had lived under high and pure religious influences, the result of clear and well-sustained religious convictions ; and of late years his reading had more and more taken that turn which would especially prepare him for the duties of a Christian minister. On returning from the South, he immediately carried out his intention of

entering the ministry, and continued without interruption the studies which, with that view, he had thus begun. His residence at this time was sometimes in Boston, and sometimes in Springfield, with his brother. While in Boston, he acted as the Secretary of the "Emigrant Society," as long as that valuable society was in existence. Its object was to communicate true information to emigrants, and to those who proposed to emigrate, — and to make arrangements for their reception here, that they might be free from the impositions to which their condition is peculiarly liable. In this charge Mr. Peabody was greatly interested. But the public failed to support the society, and after about a year its action ceased.

In the winter of 1844 – 45, Mr. Peabody received from the Boston Association its license to preach; and in August, 1845, he was settled as the pastor of the Unitarian church in Burlington, Vermont, where he had preached in the previous spring and summer; and in that beautiful town he lived, in the discharge of his ministry, until his death. His health, however, became more and more delicate during the last years of his life, and, after a short, acute illness, he died, on the 6th of July last, three days before closing his fiftieth year.

The ministry had been the profession of his mature choice. He knew what it was, or what it might be, for he had seen for more than twenty years all the detail and beautiful completeness of his brother's ministry in Springfield. He knew what he himself should labor to do in it, for no man had a deeper sympathy for others, or a more devoted reliance upon God. With more and more interest, therefore, as his life passed on in other labors, did he contemplate this field of action. And therefore, when he entered on his duty at Burlington, it was to test hopes which he had long entertained, to try plans which were of old familiar to him. To himself it was a very happy epoch. It opened to him the whole of a field of labor in which he had already gleaned more than many professed reapers who had less fervency and zeal than he. The relief of the poor, the comfort of the sorrowing, the raising of society, were no new efforts to him; and the duties of a Christian minister only united in a specific form hopes, labors, and exertions to which, in whatever occupation, he had always devoted his life. His entrance upon those duties, then, could not but be a happy

event to himself. It was peculiarly a pleasure to his friends, who felt that he was now exactly where he ought to be. You could not see him without feeling that he was too refined, too delicate, too tender, to bear much of the rough intercourse of the world. You could not know him without thinking, that, in whatever calling, he was one standing between God and his children, — between Jesus and his disciples. He himself would never have disowned any activity or rigid monotony of labor. In the hard routine of official life, he had no complaint to make of his position. But his friends, for him, could, and did, rejoice that he should be transferred to another scene and sort of effort.

And in his ministry, their presages were all made real, and his own satisfaction was never dimmed for a moment. An affectionate people became more and more attached to him, until the moment of his death, which separated him from no formal relationship, but from connection with a company of Christian friends most near and most dear. Whoever listened to his fervent and eloquent and tender exhortations from the pulpit, or joined in his affectionate, devout, and appropriate prayers, thanked God that such a precious servant was ministering at his altar. And his own people, who knew him, day by day, and year by year, in the ebbs and flows of his delicate health ; who saw him, day by day, in his enthusiastic discharge of the home duties of his parish ; who followed him in the zeal and poetical ardor with which he traced out God in the beautiful scenery which surrounded them, — in its prospects, its vegetation, its exquisite changes of summer and winter ; they who knew him as his friends knew him — and his friends only — were bound to him every day by a closer and closer tie, and every day must have come with him nearer and nearer to the God whom he loved while he worshipped. The gentle fearlessness with which he passed from the world to heaven will always linger in their memory. And, now that he has gone, they will enjoy more and more with every day that gift which death is forced to leave, as one compensation for a parting, — that nice perception of excellence, which, in the hour of grief, springs up from the clear memories of a whole life, far more definite, far more complete, than can be the ever-changing sentiment with which we regard a present, living friend.

To give an idea of such a man, the set facts of a biography are powerless. The dates and other details which we have

been repeating do not mark eras in Mr. Peabody's character. To one who did not know him they would tell nothing of what he was, nothing of that which made his friends love him. They give no clue to that character which it seems presumptuous to try to analyze, while yet we feel the first grief which mourns that he is taken away from us, — too soon for us, though not a moment before he was ready for God's higher services. To say simply, that, bred at college, Mr. Peabody was successively a lawyer and a legislator, an editor, a public functionary, and a literary professor, and that late in life he entered on the Gospel ministry, would give no conception, none whatever, to those who read these lines, of the man himself, unless they were of the number, all too small, of his personal friends. These different callings were only *callings* of the man. Faithful as he was to them, he was never their slave. Before his entrance on the ministry, as afterwards, he was a man of broad, generous culture, of the kindest heart, of the most active generosity, and of a living, fervent, devoted soul. Before, as well as afterwards, he trained himself by a diligent intellectual culture, which was doubtless seconded by a high, secret, spiritual effort ; so that his education was never over, — so that his life was always fresh, and he always young. And as his friends look back upon him to-day, it is to look back upon one whom they never saw without being glad that they saw him, whom they never parted from without making him promise soon to meet again ; one from whom, whenever they met, they received some gift of fancy, of learning, or of love, which they always prized, and by which they always remembered him, and to whom, when they separated, they looked back with new admiration and love.

Such reasons have his friends for remembering him and mourning for his loss. But by the public he is remembered rather for his gifts of intellect, and as a literary man. In all his different occupations, he retained, as we have said, the studies and tastes with which in his earlier life he had followed literary pursuits, and by which he gained the ease and power of usefulness which, as a man of letters, he always had. He was interested in foreign literature, but was most attracted by the classical literature of England. In this he was thoroughly versed. His lectures upon it were lively and interesting, and by his study of it he illustrated his writings and his conversation. But as a literary man he deserves this as his highest

praise, that, even in the goading haste of an editor's duty, he never wrote carelessly, or without something to say, — that, while he read more than most men of letters, he wrote much less, — and that he never prostituted his reading to the purpose of mere indolent amusement, glancing here and there at the reflections of the shadows of what were once great ideas. Passing hastily over the ephemeral reviews and re-statements which shallow flippancy digests from the original effort of great minds, he recurred for himself to the authors who were worth study ; coped with them, whether dull or quaint or obscure, with his own resources ; for himself found out their meaning, and with his own thought and labor arranged it for the world. He never published any thing but the miscellaneous papers to which we have already alluded, and such reports and other papers as he drew up in the course of his public duties. At the time of his death, however, he had been occupied in preparing a memoir of his brother, and this book he left nearly ready for publication.

What we have said of Mr. Peabody is eulogy, and is meant to be. It is eulogy coming from those who knew him too intimately to analyze his character, or even to undertake now to write his biography, without the presence of fresh regrets. It is the eulogy, however, of a spiritual man ; of one in whom the true spirit always held ascendancy over mere intellect, as over the body ; who was less and less bound to the earth, the longer he lived upon it. Such a man does not often attract around him a large circle of friends, and in Mr. Peabody there was a shrinking from observation, a delicate distrust, that perhaps separated him from the wide or general intimacy which a bolder man of his genius would have sought and gained. But those who knew him intimately and well remember him as one whom it was a privilege to know, and whom it is a privilege to remember.

E. E. H.

ART. X. — MARTINEAU'S EASTERN LIFE.*

MISS MARTINEAU'S volume is not a book of travels simply ; many, possibly, would like it quite as well, if it were. It

* *Eastern Life, Present and Past.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. Philadelphia : Lea & Blanchard. 1848. 8vo. pp. 518.

deals with the past as well as the present ; contains theories as well as facts. In truth, we think the lady somewhat given to theorizing, nor can we always accept her solution of phenomena in the world's history. What may be called her philosophy of religion, or theory of religious development, appears to us more than questionable. Religious faith, she seems to intimate, originally grew up, by a sort of natural process, on the prolific banks of the Nile,* and whatever has since been added to the religious ideas and faith of the world — faith in one God and in human immortality — has, in her opinion, come up, if we understand her, from the depths of the human breast, from meditation and experience, not from any special revelation. From the history of man, since the first, she appears absolutely to exclude miracle. Yet she is full of reverence ; she holds spiritual truths as the highest truths and as attended with the greatest certainty, and has a deep veneration for Moses, and Samuel,— next to Moses “the greatest man in all Israel,” — and David, and above all for Jesus, who, gathering up, as it were, the threads of the whole past experience and past thought of the race, and coming out of the school of the quiet, contemplative, and peace-loving Essenes, gave to the world a perfect religion.† She is guiltless of what Coleridge calls, using a significant term, “bibliolatry.” We do not propose to enter into any argument with her on these points, but must in the outset record our dissent from some of the opinions which, though not formally reasoned out, pervade the book. Theories of religion are well enough in their place, and Miss Martineau has the same right as others to hold and divulge her own views, or present to the public her philosophical solution of spiritual phenomena, but we confess that we would rather see them somewhere else than in a volume of travels. At the same time, we must say, that, notwithstanding a dogmatism which amuses rather than offends us by its confidence of assertion upon points on which the learned differ, we discover in the publication before us no illiberal censure, but the most enlarged charity ; and this, though it may not silence criticism, certainly establishes a good understanding between the writer and reader.

As a traveller, Miss Martineau always interests us. She is quick, observant, intelligent, active, and persevering ; she

* p. 48.

† p. 403.

allows nothing to escape her notice. While pursuing her journey in the Desert especially, whether riding on her camel or walking, her infirmity of hearing, as she herself intimates, by rendering communication with her companions difficult, left her more leisure to use her eyes, and her descriptions bear testimony to her carefulness of observation. As a writer, her merits are too well known to require remark. Her style is easy, and she has a good command of language; she is fresh and original, avoids commonplace, and furnishes a narrative which, though not the most graphic, is sufficiently lively and distinct to satisfy the reasonable demands of the reader. If it does not fascinate, it keeps attention awake; it is pregnant with thought, rich, and suggestive. We, in truth, think highly of Miss Martineau's qualifications as a traveller. Having once joined her, one is reluctant to part from her. Not only her intellectual affluence and shrewdness, her pure and generous aspirations, and her freedom from conventionalism, but her equanimity, her courage, and especially her good-humor and unfailing cheerfulness, render her companionship agreeable, and, however we may dislike some of her opinions, or pronounce her fanciful, we regret the moment, when, her journey ended, she bids us a kind and courteous adieu.

The volume is divided into four parts, the titles of which are happily chosen, as enabling the author to bring into view, under a certain unity of connection, the four great religious systems of the earth, — Paganism, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, — each in its geographical relation with her visit to the East. The first part, much the most copious, embracing half the volume, is appropriated to "Egypt and its Faith." Of this portion of her travels Miss Martineau speaks as to her "by far the most interesting." We are at no loss to comprehend her. Egypt — land of marvels, land of the Pyramids, of the Sphinx, of Memnon, and the glorious Nile, land of "wisdom" which lighted up the immortal genius of Greece — can never cease to be an object of intense curiosity and interest. The charm she wears to our youthful fancy remains fresh in age. After all that modern travel and research have done to disinter her buried treasures, to throw light upon her antiquities, to call up before us her old forms of life, we turn with unabated eagerness to any one who can tell us aught of her ancient civilization, her arts, her social organization, her worship, her ideas, and her traditions. Miss Martineau's volume, as we have said, purports to treat

of the past and the present in the countries she visits. These, in consequence of the fixedness of Oriental and Egyptian ideas and life, it is difficult wholly to separate. True, much has perished, of which we can discover, if any, only few and indistinct traces, and to the knowledge of which the present furnishes no guide. The Pyramids, the Nile, the Desert, the seas, Sinai and Horeb, are left, but "towns and shores" have changed. Time has been doing its work; yet the East is the East still; Orientalism is there, and "Eastern life" is a phrase of peculiar and deep significance.

But we will not longer detain such of our readers as have not had an opportunity of reading Miss Martineau's book from a specimen of its contents. Speaking of Alexandria, she says, —

"We met fewer blind and diseased persons than we expected; and I must say that I was agreeably surprised, both this morning and throughout my travels in Egypt, by the appearance of the people. About the dirt there can be no doubt, — the dirt of both dwellings and persons, — and the diseases which proceed from want of cleanliness; but the people appeared to us, there and throughout the country, sleek, well-fed, and cheerful. I am not sure that I saw an ill-fed person in all Egypt. There is hardship enough of other kinds, — abundance of misery to sadden the heart of the traveller, — but not that, as far as we saw, of want of food. I am told, and no doubt truly, that this is partly owing to the law of the Kurán by which every man is bound to share what he has, to the last mouthful, with his brother in need; but there must be enough, or nearly enough, food for all, whatever be the law of distribution. Of the progressive depopulation of Egypt for many years past I am fully convinced; but I am confident that a deficiency of food is not the cause, nor, as yet, a consequence. While I believe that Egypt might again, as formerly, support four times its present population, I see no reason to suppose, amidst all the misgovernment and oppression that the people suffer, that they do not still raise food enough to support life and health. I have seen more emaciated, and stunted, and depressed men, women, and children in a single walk in England, than I observed from end to end of the land of Egypt." — p. 20.

On the twenty-fifth of November, 1846, the party to which Miss Martineau belonged go on board a steamer, which is to take them along the Mahmoudieh canal to the point of its junction with the Nile at Atfeh. This canal is one of the "vaunted" improvements of Egypt, which cost in its construction over twenty thousand lives, — a fact adduced as illustrative

of the severity of the Pacha's government. So great is this severity, we are told, that the people will submit to almost any suffering or privation, rather than enter his army, his manufactories, or his schools. Passing from the canal into the Nile, Miss Martineau thus records her first impressions on seeing the Pyramids, as they appeared in the remote distance. The direction in which they stood had been indicated to her.

"In a minute," says she, "I saw them, emerging from behind a sand-hill. They were very small, for we were still twenty-five miles from Cairo; but there could be no doubt about them for a moment, so sharp and clear were the light and shadow on the two sides we saw. I had been assured that I should be disappointed in the first sight of the Pyramids; and I had maintained that I could not be disappointed, as, of all the wonders of the world, this is the most literal, and, to a dweller among mountains, like myself, the least imposing. I now found both my informant and myself mistaken. So far from being disappointed, I was filled with surprise and awe; and so far was I from having anticipated what I saw, that I felt as if I had never before looked upon any thing so new as those clear and vivid masses, with their sharp blue shadows, standing firm and alone on their expanse of sand. In a few minutes, they appeared to grow wonderfully larger; and they looked lustrous and most imposing in the evening light. This impression of the Pyramids was never fully renewed. I admired them every evening from my window at Cairo; and I took the surest means of convincing myself of their vastness, by going to the top of the largest; but this first view of them was the most moving, and I cannot think of it now without emotion." — p. 28.

On arriving at Cairo, the party immediately make preparation for ascending the Nile, intending to proceed as fast as the wind would carry them, leaving the monuments on its banks to be explored on the return voyage. The sail up the river furnishes some incidents, and gives occasion for some description and remarks which we should be glad to transfer to our pages, but most of which we are compelled to pass over. After some reflections on the character and destiny of a people, as affected by "the characteristics of the soil on which they are born and bred," and on the origin of Egyptian ideas of life and death, Miss Martineau adds:—

"One other obligation which the Egyptians owe to the Desert struck me freshly and forcibly, from the beginning of our voy-

age to the end. It plainly originated their ideas of art,—not those of the present inhabitants, which are wholly Saracenic still, but those of the primitive race who appear to have originated art all over the world. The first thing that impressed me in the Nile scenery, above Cairo, was the angularity of almost all forms. The trees appeared almost the only exception. The line of the Arabian hills soon became so even as to give them the appearance of being supports to a vast table-land, while the sand heaped up at their bases was like a row of pyramids. Elsewhere, one's idea of sand-hills is that of all round eminences they are the roundest, but here their form is generally that of truncated pyramids. The entrances of the caverns are square. The masses of sand left by the Nile are square. The river-banks are graduated by the action of the water, so that one may see a hundred natural Nilometers in as many miles. Then, again, the forms of the rocks, especially the limestone ranges, are remarkably grotesque. In a few days, I saw, without looking for them, so many colossal figures of men and animals springing from the natural rock, so many sphinxes and strange birds, that I was quite prepared for any thing I afterwards met with in the temples. The higher we went up the country, the more pyramidal became the forms of even the mud houses of the modern people; and in Nubia, they were worthy, from their angularity, of old Egypt. It is possible that the people of Abyssinia might, in some obscure age, have derived their ideas of art from Hindostan, and propagated them down the Nile. No one can now positively contradict it. But I did not feel on the spot that any derived art was likely to be in such perfect harmony with its surroundings* as that of Egypt certainly is,—a harmony so wonderful as to be perhaps the most striking circumstance of all to a European, coming from a country where all art is derived,† and its main beauty therefore lost. It is useless to speak of the beauty of Egyptian architecture and sculpture to those who, not going to Egypt, can form no conception of its main condition,—its appropriateness. I need not add that

* This is one of the instances in which Miss Martineau falls into a negligence of diction inexcusable in one who wishes to merit the praise of correctness, to say nothing of elegance, of style. The needless repetition of participial nouns, common in some writers of the day, is a mark either of carelessness or of a want of acquaintance with the resources of our language. The latter we cannot impute to Miss Martineau.

† “Even the Gothic spire is believed by those who know best to be an attenuated obelisk; as the obelisk is an attenuated pyramid. Our Gothic aisles are sometimes conjectured to be a symmetrical stone copy of the glades of a forest; but there are pillared aisles at El Karnac and Medeenet Haboo, which were constructed in a country which had no woods, and before the forests of northern Europe are discernible in the dim picture of ancient history.”

I think it worse than useless to adopt Egyptian forms and decoration in countries where there is no Nile and no Desert, and where decorations are not, as in Egypt, fraught with meaning, pictured language, messages to the gazer. But I must speak more of this hereafter." — pp. 49, 50.

The voyage is continued into Nubia as far as to the second cataract, when the party prepare for a return, and for an examination of the monuments. At this stage of her narrative, Miss Martineau introduces an "Historical Sketch" of Egypt, from the time of Menes to the occupation of the country by the Romans. She takes us far back into the ages. She alludes to Abraham as walking round the "vast bases" and "looking up at the smooth pictured sides" of the Pyramids, which "had then stood somewhere about 1500 years." "The builders, tens of thousands in number, had slept for many centuries in their graves; the kings who had reared them lay embalmed in the stillness of ages, and the glory of a supremacy which had passed away." "There is no doubt," she asserts, "about the ancient Egyptians having had an extensive written literature; but it is lost. It was shelved when the Greek language and literature became the fashion in Egypt." She speaks of the "old Egyptian complexion" as probably "of the dark bronze of the Nubians of the present day," though of this, as she in another place remarks, there is no certainty. The "type of the old Egyptian face," she says, "has great beauty, though a beauty little resembling that which later ages have chosen for their type." Its characteristics she describes as "the handsome arched nose, with its delicate nostril; the well-opened, though long eye; the placid, innocent mouth, and the smooth-rounded, amiable chin. Innocence is the prevailing expression; and sternness is absent."

In her remarks on the "Death Valley of Thebes," she presents the "Old Egyptian Views of Death and Hereafter," of which she had said something before. The following passage may be worth extracting, though it contains little that is new. We omit the authorities adduced, which will be readily found by reference to the volume itself.

"It appears that there was a lake made near every capital city in Egypt, for the transit of the dead; and a sacred boat to bear the hearse; and a boatman whose official name, written in Greek, was Charon. The funeral trains were obliged to pass over this lake on the way to the tomb; but they might return by land.

The purpose of the obligatory custom of crossing the lake was, that all the dead might pass through the same ordeal before admission to their 'eternal habitation,' as the priests called the tomb. This ordeal was judgment by the forty-two assessors who, on earth, performed the first stage of the work which was to be completed by the forty-two heavenly assessors, who awaited the dead within the threshold of the unseen world. Notice was given to these judges of the day of the funeral; and they stood in a half-circle on the nearer shore of the lake, awaiting the arrival of the funeral train. Any person might accuse the deceased in their presence of any immoral act. If the accusation was proved, the deceased was not allowed to pass. If the accuser could not substantiate his story, he was severely punished. Even kings have been known to be turned back from the place of embarkation, when acts of injustice have been proved against them; and it appears that the priests had no more exemption than others from this ordeal. Those of the rejected dead who had left a family behind them were carried home, and their mummy-cases set upright against the wall of some chamber; a perpetual spectacle of shame and grief to their families, who suffered acutely from the disgrace of what had happened. Those who were poor and friendless, as well as vicious, were put into the ground where the rejection took place; and this was the shore where their melancholy ghosts wandered, if poets say true, pining for the Elysian fields which lay beyond,—those Elysian fields being the beautiful meadows which, in the principal burial-place of the Nile valley, at Memphis, extended beyond the Lake of the Dead, all flowery with lotus and blossoming reeds." — p. 176.

The future judgment in the unseen world follows, and is far more fearful. The arrival of the person is announced.

"His secret faults, and his sins of omission, of which men could be no judges, are now to come under review; and Thoth, whose legend declares him 'the Secretary of Justice of the other great gods,' is to produce his book, in which he has recorded the whole moral life of the soul come to judgment. The forty-two heavenly assessors are believed to represent the forty-two sins which the Egyptians believed man to be subject to. Each searched the newly arrived soul, and declared its condition in respect to the particular sin. Then came the trial of the balance. The symbol of the actions of the candidate is placed in one scale, and the symbol of integrity in the other. Thoth looks on, ready to record. Horus holds the hand of the candidate; and the dog watches the process, ready to turn on the condemned, if his scale should be 'found wanting.' If all is well, he advances in front of the balance, and finds the infant Horus seated on his

lotus-blossom before the throne ; and on the throne is the Judge, prepared to welcome him by raising the end of his sceptre, and to permit him to enter among the gods within. Of the happy state little was revealed, because, as it was declared, ' the heart of man could not conceive of it.' Almost the only particular declared was, that there was a tree of Life, on whose fruit the gods wrote the names of mortals destined to immortality, and whose fruit made those who ate of it to be as gods. His relatives thought of him as wearing on his head, as a mark of his justification, the feather of integrity ; and they wrote beside his name, from that time forward, the name of the goddess of Justice : a practice equivalent to that of affixing the epithet ' justified ' to his name. This goddess of Justice, Thmei, is present during the trial of the soul : and she is identified in the sculptures by her legend, ' Thmei, who lives in Amenti, where she weighs hearts in the balance ; — no sinner escapes her.'

" The survivors of any one for whom a burial has been obtained, but who might be suspected of unfitness for the heavenly mansions, were enabled to form but too clear an idea of his fate ; for the pains of the wicked could be conceived of by human imagination, though the immortal pleasures of the just could not. The purgatory of the Egyptians was, in fact, described definitely enough ; and the representations of it in the tombs give a strange sensation to the gazer, before he has become accustomed to them. At the extreme end of a large tomb at Thebes, I saw some marks on the black and stained wall which made me hold my candle nearer, and persevere till I had made out the whole sculpture, which gave me at last the impression of a bad dream. A hopeless-looking pig, with a bristling back, was in a boat, the stern of which was towards the heavenly regions. Two monkeys were with it, one at the bow, and the other whipping or driving the pig. This was a wicked soul, sent back to earth under the conduct of the agents of Thoth. The busy and gleeful look of the monkeys, and the humbled aspect of the pig, were powerfully given. This was the lowest state of the punished soul ; but it would have to pass through some very mournful ones, and for a very long time, — to be probably a wolf, a scorpion, or a kite, or some other odious creature, in weary succession, — for a term of from three thousand to ten thousand years. This was called passing through its ' orbit of necessity.' " — pp. 178, 179.

On bidding " farewell to ancient Egypt," Miss Martineau indulges in some reflections, a portion of which, though somewhat tinged, we cannot help thinking, by the fancy of the writer, we place before our readers.

" The amount of what one does learn by the eye is very great,

— really astonishing in the case of a people whose literature is lost, instead of remaining as an indication of what one is to look for, and a commentary on what one sees. What do we not owe to their turn for engraving and painting! Here is a people, remaining only, as one may say, in the abstract, — living only in the ideas they have bequeathed to us, and in the undecayed works of their hands. No one of that great race survives; we have their corpses in plenty, but not a breathing man left of them all. We do not know what their complexion was. Their language is lost, except as studious men pick it up, word by word, with painful uncertainty, from an obscure cipher. But, phantoms as they are to us, how much do they teach us!

“ We almost lose sight of the evidences of their ways that they have left us, in recognizing the ideas that they have recorded and transmitted. Here they were, nearly two thousand years before the birth of Abraham, worshipping One Supreme God, and owning him for their king, appointing for his agent and chief servant, as their ruler, a priest whom they called his son. They recognized his moral government, — always strictly a moral government, through how many hands soever it might be administered, — whether those of his personified attributes, or those of his human instruments. The highest objects set before these people were purity of life and rectitude of conduct. Their highest aspirations were directed to the glory and favor of God in this life, and acceptance by him hereafter. Their conceptions of death were, that it was a passage to an eternal existence, where a divine benefactor, sent to dispense the mercies of the Supreme, had gone before them, having submitted to death, in order to overcome the power of evil, and who had, therefore, been raised from among the dead, when his probation in Hades was ended, and made the eternal Judge of the living and the dead. Those whom he judged favorably had their names written in the book of Life, and were brought to taste of the tree of Life, which would make them to be as gods; after which they were to enjoy such bliss as it has not entered into men's hearts to conceive. The wicked were meanwhile to undergo shame and anguish till they had expiated the very last sin, or were to be destroyed.

“ They believed the creation to have taken place as they annually saw re-creation take place. They said that the Spirit of the Supreme moved on the face of the waters, and that the dry land appeared at his bidding, yielding vegetation first, and then animals. They believed in a substantial firmament, wherein the sun and moon were placed, which were privileged to travel, with the spirits of the virtuous in their train, through a long series of mansions in the great abode of the Supreme. They taught that

every mind, whether of man or brute, was an emanation from the Supreme, and that the body was only its abode and instrument, — the soul being, from its nature and derivation, immortal." — pp. 227 – 229.

Cairo is modern, and in reference to it Miss Martineau thus speaks : —

"There are few gayer things in life, for one who chooses to be gay, than a visit to Cairo. The stranger must use a few precautions against the disturbance of his gayety, and then he may surrender himself to the most wonderful and romantic dream that can ever meet his waking senses : the most wonderful and romantic, — because there is nothing so wonderful and romantic in the whole social world as an Arabian city ; and Cairo is the queen of Arabian cities. Damascus is usually ranked with Cairo ; but, full of charms as Damascus is (as we may see by and by), it is charming for other reasons than its virtues as an Arabian city ; on which ground it cannot for a moment stand a comparison with Cairo." — p. 243.

The view from a particular eminence — "the terrace of the citadel" — has scarcely a parallel, and by some, says Miss Martineau, is thought "to be unsurpassed by any in the known world."

"I would entreat any stranger to see this view first in the evening, — before sunset. I saw it three times or more. In the morning there was much haze in the distance, and a sameness of color which hurt the eye. At noon there was no color at all, — all color being discharged in the middle of the day in Egypt, except in shady places. In the evening the beauty is beyond description. The vastness of the city, as it lies stretched below, surprises every one. It looks a perfect wilderness of flat roofs, cupolas, minarets, and palm tops, with an open space here and there, presenting the complete front of a mosque, and gay groups of people, and moving camels, — a relief to the eye, though so diminished by distance. The aqueduct is a most striking feature, running off for miles. The City of Tombs was beautiful and wonderful, — its fawn-colored domes rising against the somewhat darker sand of the Desert. The river gleamed and wound away from the dim south into the blue distance of the north, the green strip of cultivation on its banks delighting the eye amidst the yellow sands. Over to the west, the Pyramids looked their full height and their full distance, which is not the case from below. The platform of the Great Pyramid is here seen to be a considerable hill of itself ; and the fields and causeways which intervene between it and the river lie as in a map, and indicate the true dis-

tance and elevation of these mighty monuments. The Libyan hills, dreary as possible, close in the view behind them, as the Mokuttam range does above and behind the citadel. — This view is the great sight of Cairo, and that which the stranger contrives to bring into his plan for almost every day." — p. 249.

We should like to give Miss Martineau's view of life in the "hareems," two of which she saw ; and her chapter on the "Present Condition of Egypt" would furnish some good extracts, but we have not room for them. The second part of her travels comes under the head of "Sinai and its Faith." We take a single passage, from the chapter entitled "Moses at Mount Sinai."

"The great interest of the Sinai region lies in its unaltered and unalterable character. There it is, feature by feature the same as when those events occurred which make it holy ground. In every other kind of scenery there is more or less change, from one thousand years to another. The country is differently cleared, or cultivated, or peopled : even the everlasting Nile changes its course. But here, where there is neither clearing, nor cultivation, nor settled people, where it seems as if volcanic action only could make new features in the scene, and where volcanic action does not seem probable, there is no impediment to one's seeing Sinai as it was when Moses there halted his people. And I did so see Sinai, during the memorable Sunday we spent there. Turning my back on the convent, and forgetting the wretched superstitions of the monks, I looked abroad that day with the eyes of a disciple of Moses, who had followed his footsteps from Memphis hither ; and I saw more than by many years' reading of the Pentateuch at home. How differently the Pentateuch here reads, from the same worn old Bible which one has handled for five-and-twenty years, I could not have imagined. The light from Egypt and Arabia shining into it illuminates unthought-of places, and gives a new and most fresh coloring to the whole. I little thought ever to have seen so much of Moses as I did this day, within sight of Arab tents, like those in which he and Zipporah and their children lived when first here with Jethro's flocks ; within sight of the same peaks which were landmarks to the wandering tribes, and of the same wadees where they rested, and surrounded by the very same mountain springs whence they brought water for themselves and their flocks. The wells within the convent seem to have been always inexhaustible ; yet I dare say some of the Hebrew women and children discovered the ice-cold spring behind, which has no doubt lain in its shadowy nook since Horeb was upreared. I wonder whether it was fringed with ferns when

the Hebrew women saw it, as it is now. It was a tempting place for gossip, — for sitting down in the shade to talk over the comforts of Goshen, and the verdure of Egypt, and pointing out the dreariness of this place, and reminding one another how unwilling they and their husbands had been to leave Egypt, foreseeing that they should only get into trouble by trying a new country.* In yonder plain was the crowd of dark, low tents, with no tabernacle yet in the midst. Among the neighbouring wadees were the herdsmen dispersed, tending their flocks every day of the week; for as yet there was no Sabbath. This and very much more did I see on that Sunday at Sinai; much that I could not have seen, if I had been a contemporary disciple of Moses; much that can be seen only by the light of an after age, of the educational purposes and processes for which the Hebrews were brought here.” — pp. 318, 319.

Leaving Sinai, the company proceed by way of Akaba to Petra, — the wonders of which are described, — and thence to Palestine. We have then “Palestine and its Faith.” Here we find familiar and soul-stirring names, — Hebron, and Bethlehem, and Jerusalem, the plain of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, Cana, and Nazareth, — and we are prepared to witness all the moral enthusiasm which these names and the spots to which they belong awaken in the breast of the traveller. Miss Martineau’s mind is pretty thoroughly divested of superstition, yet she has, as already said, a great deal of reverence, and her pervading idea, on entering the Holy Land, and during her travels through it, is that of the great Teacher who there lived and spoke eighteen hundred years ago, making the places on which he trod hallowed ground to all coming time. Our readers may be curious to hear what were her impressions on visiting Jerusalem.

“It is still,” says she, “a noble city. The Jebusites certainly chose for their fort one of the finest sites in the world; and when David took it from them, he might well glory in his beautiful Zion. From this day forward how dead seemed to me all my former impressions of Jerusalem! — not of its sacredness, but of its beauty and nobleness. I can scarcely remember the time when I did not know familiarly all its hills, and its gates, and its temple courts, so as to read the New Testament as with a plan in my head. But I never had the slightest conception of that beauty which now at once enabled me to enter into the exultation of

* “Exodus xiv. 12: — ‘Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians?’ ”

David, and the mourning of Nehemiah, and the generous concern of Titus, and the pride of the Saracen, and the enthusiasm of the Crusader. The mournful love of the Holy City grew from day to day, as I became familiar with its precincts ; but no single view so took me by surprise as that which we obtained in the course of our walk this first day.

" There is a strange charm in the mere streets, from the picturesque character of the walls and archways. The old walls of yellow stone are so beautifully tufted with weeds, that one longs to paint every angle and projection, with its mellow coloring, and dangling and trailing garlands. And the shadowy archways, where the vaulted roofs intersect each other, till they are lost in the dazzle of the sunshine beyond, are like a noble dream. The pavement is the worst I ever walked on ; — worse than Cologne ; worse than my native city of Norwich : but being a native of Norwich, and having been familiar with its pavement for thirty years, I was not so distressed as my companions, who could hardly make their way in Jerusalem over the large, slippery stones, slanting all manner of ways." — p. 404.

Miss Martineau's descriptions of Eastern life are always vivid. Here is an example, in few words : —

" Before four o'clock, the next morning, April 21st, I was looking abroad from a sort of terrace, where I had gone, as soon as dressed, for air, when I saw a curious sight. The neighbours were not up ; and I overlooked many households asleep on their roofs. They had laid their mattresses there, and slept in their ordinary clothes, with a coverlet thrown over them. As the daylight brightened upon their faces, one after another began to wake, — the children stirring first. They rolled and rubbed their eyes, threw off their coverlets, and jumped up, — dressed for the day apparently." — p. 474.

We must here take leave of this pleasant volume, one further extract from which, had space allowed, we would have given, presenting Miss Martineau's views of Mohammed, which may strike some of our readers as new, though they are by no means peculiar to her.

A. L.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte von DR. K. R. HAGENBACH, Prof. der Theol. in Basel. Leipzig. 1847.—Compendium of Dogmatic History. By Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Professor of Theology in Basle. Second and improved Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xvi., 349; xvi., 496.

WE have long needed a good compend of dogmatic history. Muenscher's "Elements" has been an authority with our theological students, since the appearance of Dr. Murdock's translation in 1830, and had no rival in the English language until 1846, when the first edition of Hagenbach (1840-41), translated by R. W. Buch, was published in Clark's (Edinburgh) Foreign Theological Library. That Muenscher's work was very insufficient is obvious at once, when we remember the progress of historical and theological study since the date of its completion, 1811. Nor has the Edinburgh translation of Hagenbach satisfied the want, appearing as it did just on the eve of the publication of the second German edition, which is the work now before us. During the years intervening between the two editions (1841-47) monographic works of high character have been published in Germany by such eminent theologians as F. C. Baur, Meier, Dorner, Semisch, Bindemann, etc., whilst Hase, Baur, and others, have made valuable contributions to the general department of dogmatic history.

The author is an associate of De Wette in the University at Basle, and showed his regard for that eminent scholar by dedicating to him his Theological Encyclopædia, a most valuable work, of which the second edition was published in 1845. We suppose that in theological position he does not differ essentially from De Wette, unless it be that he is much less encumbered with the forms of philosophy, and more disposed to rest upon the supernatural facts of Christianity. His favorite model, we should decidedly say, is Herder, and by the catholic standard of that noble scholar and thinker he seems to aim to judge of the course of Christian doctrine in the various stages of its development.

The work now before us is divided into five periods; the first extending from the Apostolic age to the death of Origen, A. D. 70-254; the second period, from the death of Origen until John Damascene, A. D. 254-730; the third, from John Damascene

to the Reformation, the time of scholasticism, in the broadest sense, A. D. 730–1517; the fourth, from A. D. 1517 to 1720, the period of church controversies or doctrinal antagonism; the fifth, from A. D. 1720 to our own time, the period of criticism, speculation, and of the antagonism between faith and knowledge, philosophy and Christianity, reason and revelation, and the attempted reconciliation of this antagonism. The volumes have been upon our table several months, and have been of great service in every instance in which they have been consulted. In reference to recent times, they indeed deal too exclusively with German theologians, and are deficient in their survey of foreign divinity. Yet the author has taken note of the chief movements in the entire domain of Catholic and Protestant churches. We must not think it strange that he appears to know nothing of our Channings and Stuarts. That he has heard of Jonathan Edwards is some proof that, in his view, America is not wholly heathen. As a specimen of the bearing and spirit of the book, we would say, that, in speaking of the doctrine of the Trinity as held in the primitive period, he regards it simply as a brief statement of the main facts of the New Testament, without the least idea of doctrinal system or metaphysical definiteness. The primitive Christians believed and baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit, as all receivers of the New Testament have done and do. The Nicene and Athanasian creeds were in his opinion quite different matters,—the productions of a far different age and different habits of mind.

We do not think that more valuable aids for students of Christian history and theology can be procured in the same compass than are afforded by these two volumes, and the Theological Encyclopædia by the same hand, in one volume. We add, for the convenience of such students, that the price of the former is \$4.50, and of the latter \$1.75, as furnished by Garrigue in New York. In paper and print they surpass any German theological publications that we remember to have seen. o.

Egypt's Place in Universal History: an Historical Investigation, in Five Books. By CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D. P. and D. C. L. Translated from the German, by CHARLES H. COTTRELL, Esq., M. A. Vol. I. London. 1848. pp. lii., 739.

THIS stout volume, of about eight hundred pages, is the first of three which are to bring together the results of the various studies and discoveries in reference to Egypt, and educe from them their lessons, both special and universal. The present

volume contains but one of the five promised Books. It is divided into six sections, and closes with three Appendices. Of the six sections, the first three treat of the historical researches and traditions regarding Egypt, respectively among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews; the second three treat of the original Egyptian memorials themselves, under the heads of Language, Writing, Mythology. The Appendices contain the Egyptian Vocabulary, a complete list of Hieroglyphical Signs, and a collection of Authorities. The whole First Book thus justifies its title, "*The Sources and Primeval Facts of Egyptian History*," and is fitly dedicated to Niebuhr, the prince of antiquarian historians.

The Second Book is to treat of the Chronology of the Old Empire of Menes, which continued 1076 years, until the Shepherd Kings, and is to bear the name of him deemed the best authority in the matter, Eratosthenes. The Third Book is to deal with the periods of the Middle and New Empires, comprising nine and thirteen centuries respectively, and is to bear the name of Manetho, who is the author's guide through this long time. Having thus considered the history of Egypt from the earliest authentic time to the downfall of the empire, or from Menes to Alexander, Bunsen will proceed to give the matured results of his labors. In the Fourth Book, he will submit his researches to a double test, — first, to that of astronomy, and, secondly, to that of historical synchronism or of historical parallelism. The astronomical portion will bear the name of Champollion, the historical that of Scaliger. The Fifth Book will contain a survey of general history, and will aim to exhibit whatever is valuable in the Egyptian race in its bearing upon mankind. This most ambitious and important part of the whole work is to borrow its title from the name of Schelling. We can say, without pedantry, that we look with impatience for the appearance of this last Book, which thus promises to solve the great Egyptian riddle, and make the Sphinx open her stony mouth.

The volume before us gives proof of great patience, discrimination, learning, and candor. The division is clear, and the style is tolerable, nay, for a German, excellent. That we have mastered the whole volume we cannot say, for of the hieroglyphical lore at the end we can honestly repeat what the Scotch dame said to her minister, who asked her if she understood last Sunday's sermon, — "*We wadna hae the presumption*." We have looked over the pages with reference to the main points at issue between historians or theologians, and find Bunsen's views very distinctly stated, and very plausible. The section on the Jewish history is exceedingly valuable. It shows the uncertainty

of our usual reasonings upon the chronology of the Old Testament prior to the age of Solomon. For the pedants and bigots who lorded it over the domain of sacred chronology in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Bunsen has small respect. His independence generally is such as becomes the honored associate of Arnold. That he will succeed in giving us a work not inferior to the high standard marked out in his Introduction, we sincerely hope. May he be like Herodotus in the success of his treatise, as well as in the felicity of the choice of names given to its Books. There is more fitness in associating six such sages with a great historical work than the nine Muses. If not in style, surely in truth, history has gained in the interval between Herodotus and Bunsen. o.

Popular Objections to Unitarian Christianity Considered and Answered. In Seven Discourses. By GEORGE W. BURNAP, Pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 16mo. pp. 166.

Lectures to Young Men on the Cultivation of the Mind, the Formation of Character, and the Conduct of Life. By GEORGE W. BURNAP. Third Edition, corrected and enlarged. Baltimore: J. Murphy. 1848. 12mo. pp. 350.

THE publication of the Discourses in the first of the volumes above named is not, as we conceive, ill timed. The occasion of their delivery, as the author states in his Preface, was the "re-opening" of his church, after having, last year, "undergone extensive repairs." The first discourse relates particularly to the history of the society with which Mr. Burnap is connected as pastor. The subjects of the others are, — "Unitarians not Infidels," — "Explaining the Bible and Explaining it away," — "Unitarianism not mere Morality," — "Unitarianism Evangelical Christianity," — "Unitarianism does not tend to Unbelief," — and "Dr. Watts a Unitarian." These topics, though not new, Mr. Burnap treats with a freshness of thought which will render the volume acceptable to those who have a taste for reading of this sort, while its general merits place it in the class of works one would wish to see extensively circulated among those who think that Unitarianism has nothing to stand upon, or that it is a doctrine full of impiety.

The call for a third edition of Mr. Burnap's "Lectures to Young Men" affords evidence of the place the work holds in the estimation of the public. To this edition are added three new Lectures, — on the "Importance of Early Habits," — "Duties of an American Citizen," — and "Destiny of the English Lan-

guage." The mechanical execution of the volume is not less attractive than its contents. A portrait is prefixed, which may possibly remind his friends of the author.

L.

Lectures on Shakspeare. By H. N. HUDSON. New York : Baker & Scribner. 1848. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 336, 348.

WE have in these volumes new evidence, added to the almost numberless proofs, of the brilliant predominance maintained by the genius of the great English poet over the finest minds. Never was a heartier, more absorbing admiration than Mr. Hudson's for his subject. He began some years ago, in this city, the delivery of the lectures now printed, — at first attracting so few hearers as to be almost discouraged in his attempt, but at length, by unquestionable indications of his ability, gathering large audiences here and in many other places. Those who were interested in the original hearing of the lectures will, we think, enjoy still more the reading. For, by long-continued meditation and much re-writing, they are now presented to us like "beaten oil," pure and rich, without worthless admixture. The criticisms on Hamlet, Macbeth, Lear, and Othello are, however, by far the most powerful specimens of analysis in the work. That on Macbeth is the masterpiece, and will hold a good comparison with any effort of the same kind with which we are acquainted. Mr. Hudson treats of Shakspeare, not only as a creator in the realms of imagination, but as giving us the best of all uninspired texts on human nature, and the truest epitome of the world ; and he establishes well his author's matchless claims. Not seldom we notice a fulsome strain of admiration, which leads us to fear that Mr. Hudson's moral judgment has been blinded by partiality for his author, — but the origin of the fault may be accepted as its palliation. Sometimes we are painfully conscious that we are looking not directly at Shakspeare, but through the critic's lens ; but it is, perhaps, too much to expect the colorless medium of intellectual disinterestedness in any earnest commentator. Sometimes the design of a whole paragraph appears to be, not to unfold the meaning of the play, but to recommend with partisan fierceness the author's own favorite notions of religion and morals ; but we can take these passages for what they are worth, without letting them obscure the clear light elsewhere thrown on the dramatic characters, whose peculiarities and relative positions it is our writer's business to expound. With whatever exceptions, we shall find matter abundant to reward our attention.

B—l.

Lead Diseases : a Treatise from the French of L. Tanquerel Des Planches, with Notes and Additions on the Use of Lead Pipe and its Substitutes. By SAMUEL L. DANA, M. D., LL. D. Lowell: D. Bixby & Co. 1848. 8vo. pp. 441.

THIS is a book which, in these days, all who value health and comfort, and would not needlessly expose themselves to loss of either, should carefully read. Cases of suffering from lead, either as employed in the arts, or as used for the conveyance of water, are more numerous than they who have given no particular attention to the subject are aware. Lead is a comparatively cheap material, easily wrought, and convenience and economy combine to recommend it for a variety of purposes. It is desirable that persons should know the danger, under certain circumstances, incurred by its use, and the distinctive symptoms of the diseases, often lingering and dreadful, creeping on by insidious and stealthy step, which may be the result. The volume before us treats of the whole subject with distinguished ability and great exactness. It is founded on the French work of Tanquerel Des Planches, of which it is an abridged translation, with notes and additions. The original work was published in 1838, and was "crowned," as the French call it, "with the Montyon prize of 6,000 francs, by the Royal Academy of Medicine, in 1841." From his connection with the Hospital of Charity, the receptacle of nearly all the workmen in Paris and the vicinity suffering from diseases occasioned by lead, the author had rare means of conducting his inquiries with success. He became acquainted with a multitude of cases, which he carefully arranged and compared, and, after eight years of diligent observation and study, gave to the world the result. In placing the substance of the work before the American public in a condensed form, Dr. Dana has rendered an important service to the community. He has performed his part, we think, in a manner very creditable to himself. He has retained all that is essential of the original, relating to the variety of lead diseases, the symptoms, and treatment; and his notes and additions very materially enhance the worth of the volume. The article in the Appendix, on "Lead Pipe," or "the Use of Lead as a Conduit or Reservoir for Water for Domestic Purposes," by the American editor, is particularly deserving of attention. The language of the work, though occasionally technical, is, for the most part, such as will be readily understood by the general reader, and we see not why the translator has not attained his object, — that of producing a volume which "will be found both professional and popular."

The Marriage Offering: a Compilation of Prose and Poetry.
Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 16mo. pp. 207.

WE are told in the Preface, that this volume was compiled "at some leisure hours from graver studies and duties." That those "graver studies" have produced valuable fruits, all will testify who have examined the Commentaries which bear the name of him whose well-known initials commend the "Marriage Offering" to public favor. The fruits of the "leisure hours," also, are pleasant and useful, bearing the marks of good taste and pure sentiment, as distinctly as the other works to which we have alluded, of Biblical learning and spiritual discernment.

We miss from the compilation extracts from one or two of the best writers who have graced the themes to which the volume relates,—such, for example, as Jeremy Taylor, whose "Marriage Ring" will never lose its golden richness and pure lustre. But there is no lack of agreeable and instructive pieces, and the book well answers the purpose for which it was prepared. It will be an appropriate and welcome gift to the newly married.

R.

Endymion. A Tale of Greece. By HENRY B. HIRST, Author of "The Penance of Roland," "The Funeral of Time," etc. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1848. 16mo. pp. 122.

To read an American poem four cantos long is not a common possibility; to read it with admiration is a startling and very pleasant experience; but Mr. Hirst's "Endymion" is no ordinary production. There is a melody in his versification which captivates the attention, and a reality in his descriptions of nature which fascinates the senses. In the first and second cantos especially, there are stanzas in reading which we seem to breathe the dewy fragrance of the fields,—to be refreshed with the coolness of the river and the shade of the trees. In these respects, Mr. Hirst has shown himself fully equal to his subject; but there are higher demands which he has not satisfied. His whole conception of the story of Endymion seems to us extremely commonplace. What can be more foreign from the essence of the Grecian tale than the idea of the dreamy Endymion marching grim and dusty at the head of a Roman legion, or the introduction of an earthly maiden as the wronged and maddened rival of Diana? The peculiar metre, too, which Mr. Hirst has adopted from Bryant, is singularly inappropriate to such a poem. Much, however, may be pardoned to a man confessedly ignorant of poetry and the poetic art; and when diligent and reverent study shall have delivered him from this

reproach, we shall expect something permanently noble and worthy from the author of this volume. H—t.

Orta Undis, and other Poems. By J. M. LEGARÉ. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1848. 16mo. pp. 102.

THIS is a collection of sufficiently graceful and musical verses, by a young Carolinian, a kinsman of the late Hugh S. Legaré. Its most remarkable peculiarity is, that it takes its title from a Latin poem, in a monkish measure, given at the end of the book. There is, apparently, no especial reason why the verses should have been published, neither is there any objection to their being read now that they are. They are, in fact, very ephemeral productions; but the writer shows an active and thoughtful mind, and is evidently too sensible a person to have staked his fortunes on this single cast. H—t.

The Peasant and his Landlord. By the BARONESS KNORRING. Translated by MARY HOWITT. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1848. pp. 351.

THE reading public owe another debt of gratitude to Mary Howitt for introducing a new Northern writer. The Baroness Knorring has a high reputation in her own country, and is destined to be a favorite in ours. With the advantage of novelty in her favor, in addition to her various merits, Fredrika Bremer may be destined to sustain the popularity she has enjoyed in America without finding a rival in her fair countrywoman. But we are told that in their own country the two writers stand side by side, and certainly this first of the stories of the latter, which has been selected as the commencement of a series of translations, cannot fail to create a desire for a better acquaintance, and justifies the opinion of the translator, that, when once the author is fully known, the originality and excellence of her writings will be felt and acknowledged by English and American readers. R.

Aquidneck; a Poem, pronounced on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Redwood Library Company, Newport, R. I., August 24, 1847. With other Commemorative Pieces. By CHARLES T. BROOKS. Providence: C. Burnet. 1848. 16mo. pp. 63.

ONE or two of Mr. Brooks's pieces contained in the present

little collection we have seen before; and one of them first appeared in the pages of this journal. Aquidneck is a pleasant commemorative poem; and, with the other effusions that appear in company with it, is marked by a genuine love of nature, and purity and freshness of feeling. L.

What I saw in California; being the Journal of a Tour, by the Emigrant Route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, across the Continent of North America, the Great Desert Basin, and through California, in the Years 1846, 1847. By EDWIN BRYANT, late Alcalde of St. Francisco. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1848. 12mo. pp. 455.

WE have been much interested in this volume, which is written in a style of easy narrative, and contains much, and, we doubt not, authentic, information about a country the future relations of which with our own must inspire in multitudes a desire to learn something more than has been hitherto known of its geography, climate, soil, mineral treasures, and people. L.

The Importance to the Young of a Rational and Firm Belief in the Truth of the Christian Religion. A Sermon delivered in Lewin Mead Chapel, Bristol, on Sunday Morning, May 2, 1847. By the REV. WILLIAM JAMES. London: J. Chapman. 1847. 8vo. pp. 19.

A Discourse delivered in the First Congregational Church, at Harvard, Worcester Co., Mass., on the Day of the Annual Fast, April 6, 1848. By HENRY B. PEARSON. Boston: W. B. Fowle. 1848. 8vo. pp. 22.

Military Glory. A Sermon preached at the Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, N. Y., Sunday Morning, July 16. By FREDERICK A. FARLEY, Pastor. New York. 1848. 12mo. pp. 15.

The System of the Universe, being a New System of Christian Philosophy, containing a Complete Explanation and Classification of Universal Science, founded upon Unchangeable Laws, and embracing within its Formulæ every Department of Human Inquiry. Corrected from the Original Discovery made by FRANCIS LESEUR, in 1831. Book First. Hartford. 1843. 8vo. pp. 40.

Remarks in Refutation of the Treatise of Jonathan Edwards, on the Freedom of the Will. By W. B. GREENE. West Brookfield: Cooke & Chapin. 1848. 12mo. pp. 30.

Oration pronounced by the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop,

Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the Fourth of July, 1848, on the Occasion of Laying the Corner-stone of the National Monument to the Memory of Washington. With an Introduction and an Appendix. Washington. 1848. 8vo. pp. 67.

WE have received but a scanty supply of pamphlet literature within the last two months, and a portion of that has not the utmost freshness. Mr. James's Sermon is on an important subject, and the thoughts it contains are just and forcible, and are presented in a serious, Christian spirit. — Mr. Pearson's Discourse is chiefly on "political liberty," of which he gives a very rigid definition, accompanied with striking illustrations and some strong statements. — Mr. Farley's is a spirited Sermon, pointing out the fallacies connected with "military glory," and breathing fervent aspirations for the coming of a better era, when the "holy and peaceful faith of the Gospel" shall bring about the final abolition of war.

The title of Mr. Leseur's pamphlet is suited to awaken a prejudice against the writer, which, we fear, will not be entirely removed by its perusal. Though it has just come into our hands, it was published several years ago; and then appeared as the "First Part" of a volume, the remainder of which has not yet been printed, from which we infer that it did not meet with any special favor in the region where it was issued. — The attempt to refute Edwards's "Treatise on the Will," in a pamphlet of thirty pages, containing an examination of only a single section of the work, may be thought, and justly, as it seems to us, to argue some degree of self-confidence. We cannot say that we think the author wholly successful, but we commend his "Remarks" to the notice of those who take special interest in a subject which has from a remote antiquity engaged, and will long continue to engage, the attention of speculative minds. If we may offer a verbal criticism, "otherwheres," the plural of "otherwhere," looks oddly enough to our eye. — Mr. Winthrop's Oration, appropriate in its topics, eloquent in its language, and lofty alike in its political and in its moral sentiment, is worthy to be associated with the day and the occasion on which it was delivered. Of the "Prayer," by Rev. Mr. McJilton, "delivered" at the same time, and printed with the Oration, we are bound to say, that, beyond any other devotional service which we remember to have seen or heard, it displays an ambitious *eloquence*, which, however it may have sounded in the ears of patriotic listeners, is strangely at variance with our notions of what an address to Heaven should be.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record.—The unexpected death of Rev. Mr. Peabody of Burlington, Vt., is an event to which we cannot refer without an expression of sympathy, not only with his own congregation, but with all the churches over which the influence of his character was felt. Our previous pages contain a notice of his life, prepared by a friend.

We regret to learn that the determination of Rev. Mr. Edes, to remain at Bolton, has been overruled by circumstances, and that he will close his ministry in that place with the end of the year.—Rev. Mr. Bartlett of Marblehead, in consequence of his incessant labors for many years, finds his health so much impaired, that he has been obliged to relinquish, in a great measure, his public duties, and will probably soon receive a colleague.—Rev. Mr. Withington of Leominster has been compelled by feeble health to ask a dismissal from his people.—Rev. Mr. Clarke, late of Charlemont, has removed to Warwick, and will supply the pulpit in that town.—Rev. Mr. Gale, late of Norton, has taken charge of the pulpit at Barnstable.—Rev. Mr. Newell, late of Pomfret, Vt., has become the minister of the congregation in Brewster.—Rev. Mr. Coe, formerly of Greenville village, Norwich, Conn., has resumed his connection with the pulpit in that place.—Rev. Mr. Rice, late of Mendon, has accepted an invitation to spend a year with the society at Eastport, Me.—Mr. O. J. Fernald, a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School in the year 1847, has accepted an engagement to preach for a year to the society in West Thomaston, Me.—Mr. T. S. Laphrop, who has just finished his studies at the Meadville School, has taken charge of the pulpit at Northumberland, Penn., left vacant by the death of Rev. Mr. Kay.

Our record of ordinations, installations, and dedications shows the disposition of our people to secure for themselves the regular administration of public worship. Several meeting-houses have been rebuilt or remodelled, and a conviction of the importance of a permanent ministry will, we trust, supplant that fondness for change which has marked our ecclesiastical history for the last few years.—The arrangements to which we referred in a previous number, for relieving the Second Church in this city from a burdensome debt, having failed, Rev. Mr. Robbins has resigned his office, and the meeting-house has been closed; but the great body of the congregation have determined to maintain their mutual connection and their relation to their pastor, and to provide for themselves a place of worship less remote from the centre of the city. They meet at present in the chapel of the Church of the Disciples, of whose pulpit Mr. Robbins takes charge during the absence of Rev. Mr. Clarke, who has been compelled by enfeebled health to lay aside all public labors.—The New North Church in this city has made a very favorable exhibition of the state of its affairs, and will, probably, soon be in a condition to offer another minister a permanent settlement.

The habit of change in the pastoral relation, to which we have so often adverted as affecting the prosperity of our churches, prevails, we

are led to believe, to at least an equal extent, in other denominations. Rev. Mr. Adams, minister of the Universalist society in Malden, in an address delivered "at the close of ten years' ministry" in that town, observes:—"I would not have believed, until undeniable fact assured me, that there are but three other Universalist pastors in this State besides myself, out of one hundred and thirty clergymen here, who stately minister in the same pulpits they occupied as pastors ten years ago."

The absence of the inhabitants of Boston, as of other cities, from their homes during the summer, has a most injurious effect on the appearance of our congregations. In some instances, three fourths of the people are "out of town," and to a stranger, who is ignorant of the extent to which this practice prevails, the vacant pews bear evidence of an almost entire disregard of public worship. Each year the number increases of those who pass more or less time on the sea-shore or in the neighbouring villages, and this summer the spectacle of emptiness which meets the eye of the preacher, as he looks around him, would seem to bespeak a general dissatisfaction with his services. The sight is by no means one that can be witnessed only in Unitarian churches. It may be noticed, to a greater or less degree, in all denominations. With the autumn the people will return, bringing, we hope, hearts full of gratitude to the Providence that has given them such opportunities of refreshment and health; but we fear that the habit of regular attendance on the public services of religion, of which our fathers transmitted an example that their children are not, under usual circumstances, too eager to follow, may be seriously impaired. A summer residence in a place where, from one cause or another,—sometimes from a regard to convenience, and sometimes from taste,—even those persons who are constantly seen in the church when at home are led to neglect the social institutions of the Lord's day, is not in all respects favorable to good habits. It is the law of a wise Providence, that in this world advantage and disadvantage go together; and our moral integrity is shown in securing the good without also realizing the evil. Our readers under whose eye these remarks may chance to fall, while they are rusticated in their pleasant quarters, will understand their application.

Meadville Theological School.—The Fourth Anniversary of the establishment of this institution was celebrated by the exercises of the graduating class, June 29, 1848. On the previous evening the annual discourse was preached by Rev. George W. Hoamer of Buffalo, N. Y., from Matthew x. 34. The class consisted of nine young men, by whom dissertations were read in the following order: "The Doctrine of the Nicene Creed,"—Mr. Noah Michael, of Ohio; "The Exclusive System,"—Mr. Samuel W. Koun, of Ohio; "The Demand of the Age upon the Ministry,"—Mr. Thomas S. Lathrop, of Massachusetts; "The 'Little Horn' of Daniel,"—Mr. Evan W. Humphrey, of Ohio; "The 'Ministry at Large' in Cities,"—Mr. William Cushing, of Massachusetts; "The Use of Reason in Matters of Faith,"—Mr. Alvin Coburn, of Vermont; "The Object of Christ's Mission,"—Mr. Nathaniel O. Chaffee, of Massachusetts; "The Principles of the Reformation,"—Mr. Liberty Billings, of Maine; "The Scriptural Doctrine of Election,"—Mr. Stillman Barber, of Massachusetts. The President of the School then delivered the certificates to the members

of the class, with a pertinent address, and the exercises were closed, as they had been opened, with prayer.

It will be observed that six of the graduates of the year were from New England. We hope that in future years a larger proportion of the students will be drawn from the West. The School was established to meet the wants of that part of the country, and our own Divinity School ought to afford, and does offer, the means of theological education to our Northern young men. The Meadville School, we are glad to learn, enjoys the confidence of the greater portion of the "Christian Connection," and we may hope it will receive evidence of their sympathy with its purposes in the number of those who from this body shall avail themselves of its privileges of instruction.

Cambridge Divinity School. — The Thirty-second Annual Visitation of the Divinity School of the University at Cambridge was attended on Friday, July 14, 1848. The graduating class consisted of six young men, who read dissertations on assigned subjects, viz.: "The Miracle of the Barren Fig-tree," — Mr. James F. Brown; "The Character of Christ as an Argument for the Truth of his Religion," — Mr. Solon W. Bush; "The Origin and Import of Sacrifices," — Mr. Joseph H. Phipps; "Man's Moral Condition by Nature," — Mr. Israel A. Putnam; "The Design of Christ in his Parables," — Mr. Daniel W. Stevens; "The Theological Position of Arminius," — Mr. Joshua Young. The exercises were opened and closed by prayers from Professors Noyes and Francis, and three hymns written for the occasion, and intended, we presume, to be sung by those leaving the institution, were performed in their behalf by a special choir.

The Alumni of the School held their annual meeting in the afternoon, and chose as officers for the year, Rev. George R. Noyes, D. D., *President*; Rev. Ralph Sanger, *Vice-President*; Rev. John F. W. Ware, *Secretary*; Rev. G. G. Ingersoll, D. D., Rev. William Newell, Rev. A. B. Muzzey, *Committee of Arrangements*. Rev. Samuel Gilman, D. D., of Charleston, S. C., was chosen Second Preacher for the next year, Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D., of Boston, being First Preacher, according to the vote of the last year. Rev. S. K. Lothrop, as chairman of the committee that had been appointed by delegates of different ministerial associations who met in Boston, March, 1848, to confer with the Corporation of the University on an increase of the means of instruction and the number of teachers in the School, read certain communications which had passed between this committee and the Corporation. Remarks were made by different gentlemen on the condition of the School and its relation to the University, and the committee that had already held correspondence with the Corporation were instructed, as a committee of this body, to report upon the whole subject of the position and wants of the School at the next meeting of the Alumni.

The annual Address before the Association of the Alumni was delivered in the College chapel, at 4 o'clock, by Rev. George W. Burnap of Baltimore, on the "Tendencies and the Wants of Theology in our Country at the Present Time." It appears in the present number of the Examiner.

The annual Discourse before the graduating class of the Divinity School was preached in the meeting-house of the First Parish in Cambridge, on Sunday evening, July 9, by Rev. Horace Bushnell, D. D.,

of Hartford, Conn., from 1 John i. 2 ; his subject being the Atonement, which he discussed at length under its doctrinal and its moral aspects.

The situation of the Divinity School has been the subject of much remark of late. Its connection with the College is regarded, we believe, alike by the friends of the School and of the College, as a disadvantage to both ; and yet there are legal difficulties in the way of a separation. The instruction, in the various departments of theological education, is thrown upon two Professors, who are also required to perform certain services in the College ; but the funds of the institution, it is said, do not warrant the appointment of other Professors. The confidence of our people in the character of the instruction given at Cambridge, and the influences under which the young men pursue their studies for the ministry, has been impaired by the views on important questions with which some are understood to have left the School ; while the freedom of inquiry and independence of dictation which have honorably distinguished the institution from its commencement render variety of opinion almost inevitable. The small number whom it sends out for the supply of our churches is noticed, together with the fact, that few of the graduates of the College afterwards enter the School ; but a similar or greater decrease of pupils is observed in other theological seminaries, and both in this country and in Europe, from causes some of which may be obscure, while others are obvious, less disposition is shown now than in former years to select the ministry as a profession for life. These are among the topics which present themselves to those who are interested in the success of our Divinity School, and they show the folly as well as the injustice of hasty censures and precipitate conclusions. On two points we presume there is a general concurrence of opinion, — that the School does not accomplish what is needed from such an institution, and that, in its present entangled and crippled condition, it is not probable that its efficiency will be much increased. What shall be done for the further promotion of theological education among us is a question which demands, and we doubt not will receive, the earnest attention of those, both ministers and laymen, who care for the prosperity of our churches or the spread of Christian truth.

Dedications. — The meeting-house erected by the First Parish Congregational Society in HAVERHILL, Mass., was dedicated August 9, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Richardson of Haverhill, from 1 Corinthians vi. 16 ; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Stone of Salem ; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Higginson of Newburyport and Goodrich of Haverhill.

The meeting-house of the First Congregational Church in NORTHBORO', Mass., having been remodelled, was dedicated anew to the purposes of Christian worship, August 15, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Allen, pastor of the church, from Psalm cxxvii. 1 ; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I. ; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Allen of Sterling, Hale of Worcester, and Allen of Washington, D. C.

Installations. — REV. SUMNER LINCOLN, formerly pastor of a Trinitarian Congregational church in Gardner, Mass., was installed as Minister

of the united Unitarian Societies of HAMPTON FALLS and KENSINGTON, N. H., June 28, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Stone of Salem, from Matthew x. 20; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Parkman of Dover, N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Portsmouth, N. H.; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Thomas of Boston; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Holland of Boston; and the other services, by Messrs. Higginson of Newburyport and Osgood of Cohasset.

REV. HENRY FRANCIS EDES, formerly of Nantucket, was installed as Minister of the Unitarian Society in WOBURN, Mass., July 6, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, from 2 Corinthians v. 18; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Stetson of Medford; the Address to the People was given by Rev. Mr. Edes of Bolton; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Mr. Randolph of Lexington.

REV. JAMES RICHARDSON, formerly of Southington, Conn., was installed as Pastor of the Unitarian Church in HAVERHILL, Mass., August 9, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, from 2 Corinthians iii. 6; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Hampton Falls, N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Longfellow of Fall River; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Troy, N. Y.; and the other services by Messrs. Harrington of Lawrence and Hodges of Cambridge.

OBITUARY.

THOMAS P. JONES, M. D., died at Washington, D. C., March 11, 1848, aged 74 years.

This able and excellent man was a native of England, but early emigrated to this country, and became a resident of Philadelphia. His labors and exertions in various official duties and public trusts, extending from that period through fifty years, entitle him to more than private remembrance. He has long ranked high as a man of general science. In the departments of chemistry and natural philosophy, he has contributed two of the best elementary treatises extant. He was appointed Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in William and Mary College, Virginia, afterwards in Columbia College, in the District of Columbia, and subsequently he received a similar appointment in the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. In all three places, his lectures were attended with pleasure and benefit by many besides those of whose professional instruction they formed a part. In Philadelphia, he commenced the publication of the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, first at his own expense; and through this work, which he continued to edit for twenty-eight years, until his death, he was enabled to do much for the advancement of the sciences and the mechanic arts in this country. His connection with the United States Patent Office, of which he was appointed Superintendent by John Quincy Adams, brought him into acquaintance with the leading mechanics and artisans of the country, and contributed not a little to the diffusion of accurate scientific knowledge among them. It brought into requisition his extensive knowledge of the history and details of the patented in-

ventions of foreign countries, a reference to which was important in pronouncing upon the novelty and validity of American claims. For the last fifteen years, though again connected with the Patent Office as Examiner of Patents, his principal business was that of attorney for procuring patents; in which capacity he renewed his former usefulness, and found both constant employment and abundant success. His acquaintance with men of science, abroad and at home, was extensive, and their estimation of him was shown in his election as an honorary member of various learned institutions.

Neither his high reputation, nor the consciousness of having well attained it, could destroy in Dr. Jones that simplicity of character, or that warmth of feeling, which drew towards him the hearts of those to whom he was personally known. Gentle in his manners, gifted with remarkable power of utterance and illustration, and deeply religious, he was well suited to the office he long sustained, of superintendent of the Sunday school connected with the Unitarian society in Washington; and the successive ministers of that society found in him that ready counsel and active sympathy and coöperation which are so encouraging in the discharge of pastoral duties. During his residence in Philadelphia he was one of the most efficient members of the Unitarian congregation, and was always remarkable for the constancy of his attendance on the religious services of the society with which he was connected. He was ever a firm and faithful friend; and if any treated him injuriously, he seemed to feel rather compassion for the evil they inflicted on themselves, than resentment on account of the wrong to him. In a religious society comprising, notwithstanding its scanty numbers, an unusual amount of moral and intellectual excellence, Dr. Jones was among the most distinguished. He has gone from them now, as have many, associated with him, who will long be fondly remembered in the circle which they once adorned. A.

REV. PETER EATON, D. D., died at Andover, Mass., April 14, 1848, aged 83 years.

Dr. Eaton was a native of Haverhill, Mass. His ancestors were among the yeomanry of that town, and his early training in their occupation gave him a constitution to endure the toil and trials of his professional life. He commenced his classical studies with his minister, the Rev. Phineas Adams, and completed his preparation for college at Phillips Academy, under the instruction of the late learned Dr. Eliphalet Pearson. He graduated at Harvard College in the year 1787, in the class of which John Quincy Adams was a member, and in 1820 received from his Alma Mater the degree of D. D.

On leaving college, Mr. Eaton taught a school twelve months in Woburn, and having passed the year in reading divinity with Mr. Adams, he was ordained over the Second Church in Boxford, Mass., October 7, 1789. Of this church he died the senior pastor; and till the last eighteen months of his life he had the sole charge of the pulpit. Soon after retiring from the public services of his profession, he removed to Andover, where he ended his days, in the grateful and affectionate remembrance of the society with which he had lived more than half a century in uninterrupted harmony, and whose devotion to the comfort of his declining years was hearty and untiring. His remains were removed to Boxford, and there rest with those for whose spiritual preparation he so long and so faithfully labored.

Dr. Eaton was a child of nature. Without aspiring to the personal graces of artificial society, he was satisfied with the plain manners of a rural life. His mind was of a high order. It moved rapidly through its processes of thought. With a quick and clear perception, he saw readily the resemblances and the differences of things. His judgment was sound, and, reasoning logically, he seldom had occasion to regret or change his conclusions. With a limited library, and but little time left him for reading, in consequence of his stinted means of living and the claims of pastoral duty, he relied more, for his personal improvement and weekly preparation for the pulpit, on his own reflections than on borrowed thoughts. This gave an air of originality to his sermons, and, with his fervent spirit and earnest and distinct enunciation, rendered him a popular preacher. In theological speculations he was truly liberal, and in his feelings most catholic, — embracing in his enlarged charity the good of his race of every name under heaven. He stood with such men as the late Drs. Thacher, Lothrop, and Eliot of Boston, Ware, the elder, of Cambridge, Barnard of Salem, Andrews of Newburyport, Symmes of Andover, and Cummings of Billerica. He believed in one God, the Father, and in one Mediator, Jesus Christ, the Son of God. On Calvinism he looked with utter abhorrence. From no lips did its doctrines receive more decided and scorching rebuke than from his. To show the strength of his feelings on this subject, he was more than once heard to say of a son, who at the time was a member of the Andover Theological Seminary, "I would rather bury him than have him leave that School with the exclusive spirit of Orthodoxy, — a sour Calvinist." Still Dr. Eaton seldom carried controversy into the pulpit. His regard for the feelings of others, and his reluctance to give offence, often closed his lips when and where less sensibility of this sort would have allowed greater freedom of utterance. Though decided in his religious opinions, and at times fearless in the expression of them, his usual preaching was in respect to dogma so indefinite, that he failed to leave upon the majority of minds that listened to him from week to week his own distinct mark. Indeed, some of his hearers whose love of Calvinism was strong, it is said, claimed him as a believer in its doctrines; and to this day insist that he was, at least, *Calvinistic*.

Dr. Eaton was a warm-hearted man. He loved his race as the creatures of God, — made in the Divine image. For the downcast and the downtrodden he cherished a deep fellow-feeling. And, ever true to the claims of a ready and generous hospitality, he never allowed the suppliant to leave his door hungry or naked. With his parishioners his intercourse was familiar and endearing, and secured for him their warm affection and unmeasured confidence. In their afflictions they shared his ready and deep sympathy; and in his best days, no man was happier in administering to the wants of the sorrowing heart. Indeed, all who knew him will ever remember "his frank and cordial greeting." His modesty was a marked feature in his character. He always seemed satisfied with his narrow sphere of duty, and was ambitious of no honor but what "comes unlooked for." More than once he rejected an invitation to exchange his little vineyard for a wider field; regarding a floating ministry as utterly hopeless in respect to ministerial usefulness. His labors were confined almost wholly to his own flock. He once preached the State Election Sermon. He has left in print two or three discourses, called for by some of his own people and by members of

neighbouring societies. At a time of religious excitement in Essex county, he published two sermons on the negative and positive character of religion, — stating clearly and forcibly in what religion does not, and in what it does consist. But these perishable monuments of his worth are powerless, compared with the imperishable memorials created in the hearts of his friends by his truly Christian walk. For, though dead, he yet speaks to them, and will continue to speak to them so long as eminent goodness has a voice to raise in time, and a moving power to exert in eternity.

L—g.

HON. JONATHAN CHAPMAN died at Boston, Mass., May 25, 1848, aged 41 years.

Mr. Chapman was a native of Boston, where he was born January 23, 1807. After graduating at Harvard College, in the class of 1825, and completing his preparatory professional studies, he established himself as a lawyer in this city. His talents, education, and eloquence made him conspicuous in this community, while the integrity of his character, the unfeigned kindness of his manners, and his generous, frank, and magnanimous spirit won for him an unusual degree of affection and confidence. Perhaps it was without precedent that so young a man should be called to preside over the municipal affairs of so large a population, and yet Mr. Chapman's administration was as much distinguished for calm discretion in emergencies, and a careful financial economy, as for the grace and felicity with which he presided and spoke on public occasions. Of the eminent citizens who have filled the office of Mayor of Boston, no one, it is believed, has ever given more universal satisfaction in the discharge of its arduous duties. He steadily shunned political preferment, because he feared that its excitements might be unfavorable to that moral tranquillity and health which he prized above every thing. His chief delight was in his home, and it is as seated there that we would prefer to draw his portrait, if we were permitted. His sunny face, his warm heart, and candid speech, bound his friends to him with a singular strength of attachment. The purity of his life, and the unbending rectitude of his moral principles, brought him a large measure of respect and trust in the walks of business. In him the most childlike sprightliness and simplicity of mind were united with great sagacity and the manliest dignity and wisdom. He was a devout man, fearing God, — a believing and professing disciple of Christ, observing all the ordinances of the faith, "and walking in the truth" day by day, among men. His death, so sudden and untimely, was felt as a large private and public loss. An unusual concourse of real mourners filled the church at his burial, grieving for the departure and honoring the memory of a good and true and dearly valued man.

P.

. *Erratum.* — The ordination of Mr. Willard at Westford took place May 24, and not June 14, as stated in our last number.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1848.

ART. I. — CONFUCIUS.*

THE richest production of any clime is the great man. He is more than mountains, rivers, and seas. The universe of means with its infinitude of influences produces nothing so great, nothing so good, as he. He is the end. Hence nature's capital is always well invested when her purest energy concentrates in such a one, for here there is no failure, no loss, no cheat. The thoughts of such a man are living; his voice is ever to us; he is our contemporary, though born in the most distant ages. We are thankful to the past, that it yields us shells, obelisks, vegetable petrifications, and the bones of animal monsters; but we are far more grateful that it gives us a few great men, who are its life and history. These let the true antiquarian seek, that their eyes may again sparkle with thought, that their masterly speech may burn in the heart of the active present. God has many voices in history. And so far as a man is great and true, he belongs to all time, like the sun and moon; and so far as he is not this, it is needless to know him.

* 1. *The British World in the East: a Guide, Historical, Moral, and Commercial, to India, China, Australia, South Africa, and the other Possessions or Connections of Great Britain in the Eastern and Southern Seas.* By LEITCH RITCHIE. In two Volumes. London. 1847. 8vo. pp. 500, 512.

2. *Five Years in China; from 1842 to 1847. With an Account of the Occupation of the Islands of Labuan and Borneo by her Majesty's Forces.* By LIEUT. F. C. FORBES, R. N., Commander of H. M. S. Bonetta. London. 1848. 8vo. pp. 406.

The citizens of China proper constitute at least one third part of the human race, and, from the ample resources of nature there existing, one might anticipate a high development of mind. Yet through the long ages of the Chinese empire, the duration of which neither they nor we understand, but one great man has appeared, the vast shadow of his mind covering all. The whole power of the Chinese nature is represented in him, beyond whose thought no one attempts to go. Temples arise to his fame in nearly every city and village of the empire. The scholar burns incense to his memory when about to undergo his public examination, whilst to the millions of this massive race his name is the synonyme of wisdom itself. No man is accounted wise or learned who is not familiar with his books. The rank of nobility, with the highest official honors, still distinguishes his descendants. And in the world of letters admiration and eulogy have gathered around this name, the skeptic and the believer in our religion alike praising him. But this same Confucius met in his day the sorest trials; was alternately followed and deserted, admired and scorned. He was not understood; men feared him, especially the little men of state. He battled his way against ignorance, envy, and vice. Plots were formed against his life. Every thing combined to test the greatness of his heart. In short, he had the legacy of all great reformers, a measure of the fear, hatred, and derision of his times.

The wonder is not that a great man appeared in China or in Persia. Human nature is rich in its elements; and he who properly estimates the influence of the universe in the development of mind marvels not when he finds the great and the good man beyond the limits of Judea, or the inclosure of his own particular civilization. Notwithstanding the unity of the race and the fraternal ties that unite its greatest representatives to the mass, it cannot, however, be denied, that each great man is modified by the peculiar genius of the nation whose life he inherits. Thus, it is plain that Socrates is the Grecian great man; Cicero, we think, the Roman; Moses, the Hebrew; Napoleon, the French; and Peter, the Russian; — each is great through the particular genius of his country and race. Confucius is the Chinese great man, differing in the order and hues of his moral genius from the Greek, Roman, and Hebrew, as widely as the Chinese differ from Greeks, Romans, and Jews.

"To understand Confucius," says Mr. Ritchie, "is to understand China. He had no idiosyncrasy. He was an incarnation of the national character; a mouth-piece of the national feelings; and he was only greater than the rest of his countrymen by being imbued with that genius which gives vitality and energy to thoughts that lie dormant, though existing in the minds of meaner men. He was the mental light which touches, as Dryden expresses it, the sleeping images of things; and at his appearance, all becomes visible that before was obscure, all distinct that before was unintelligible, and the tumultuous ideas of a great nation fell gradually into peace, and order, and harmony." — Vol. II. p. 151.

A few words here on this unique and ancient nation will not appear an unauthorized digression. The empire is indeed a national pyramid, whose apex looks down upon the ruins of the proudest kingdoms of antiquity, apparently defying those dissolving agencies which have laid low the proudest organizations of the past. For thousands of years it has thus stood, its civilization, whatever it is, always prevailing over the conqueror; and now, with a population greater than that of all Europe, it remains united and unbroken. This is, indeed, a philosophical marvel, compelling the conclusion, that government there has firm pillars on which to rest, — that the popular mind has constancy, at least. In the language of phrenology, we might say that the coincidence between the great height of the Chinese head in the region of firmness and veneration, and the unchangeableness of the Chinese institutions and manners, is not unworthy of notice. These two facts doubtless act and react on each other, but government flows from man, we are sure, in a deeper sense than man from government. The reciprocal action of firmness and veneration creates submission and constancy, so essential to the perpetuity of any government, and especially of this, in which the patriarchal idea so constantly prevails. There is no trait more prominent in the Chinese character than veneration for the past. *There* are the golden ages. The worship of ancestors, universal among the Chinese, tends to glue them to the past, to check progress and innovation. And in accordance with all this, the Chinese are quiet, and timidly conservative. They have not the bold, chivalrous elements of character, while there is a systematic industry pervading the empire. In their exhibition of imagination and taste they are minute and finical. They describe too much

what a thing is to leave it natural. Wonder and imitation are also large. Deference to superiors is woven into the growth of every mind. They believe in Tien (the Supreme God), the perfectibility of human nature, the impartial compensations of justice and the life immortal. Drama, romance, history, poetry, ethics, religion, and law, they have of their kind ; and it has been asserted that nearly every man among their millions is able to read and write. Perhaps the two ideas most characteristic of this people are deference to superiors and veneration for the past.

Confucius, the only master mind that the nation has produced, is to be contemplated chiefly as a moral teacher, moving in the sphere of the statesman. He never spoke as a prophet. He taught no new religion, claimed no Divine inspiration, and stood never on the ground of a supernatural mission. His moral genius qualified him to grasp universal principles flowing through the nature of man, and existent in the conditions of things. To these he appealed. Through the law which Heaven has engraved on all hearts, he sought to reform his age and people.

The age to which Confucius, in his personal history, belongs, makes him the contemporary, or nearly so, of Herodotus, Pythagoras, and Solon. He was born five hundred and fifty years before Christ. The Chinese historians allege, that the times were very evil, that sad corruption prevailed in high places, that boundless luxury, inordinate love of pleasure, and fatal disorders in government everywhere prevailed. Religion, the source and nourisher of human virtues, they say, was overclouded by the marvellous, and weakened by superstition. There was no depth of sincerity in the age. Truth did not speak from the heart of man. Life had died out. The deepest wants asked for the true man, somewhat as the long-parched earth asks heaven for rain. He came, as come God's greatest gifts always, when most needed ; he came, yet his own people received him not in the thorough and uniform appreciation of his aim.

The spirit of mythology never neglects the ancient great man. Some star or wondrous appearance welcomes the man of destiny. Thus, two dragons, the symbol of royalty in China, " encircled the house " when the sublime Confucius was born ; celestial music rang in his mother's ears, and on the breast of the infant philosopher appeared the sentence, " The maker of a rule for settling the world " ! This bow-

ing of nature to the great man, asserted by the mythological falsehood, shadows forth this truth, — that the man born to influence and govern ages is greater than outward nature, is the end to which the universe ministers ; in his mind, suns, flowers, and oceans are reproduced ; all things do him homage ; all aid the spirit that conquers the error and darkness of ages.

It may be asked, Who knows that Confucius was the great man his disciples make him ? We answer, that the danger is not, that a great man will be held up to our admiration where there is none ; the real danger is, that the portraiture will fall below the reality. A score of ordinary minds can never give us a truly great man, from the fact that no one can rise above his own ideal ; and every one's ideal of a great man will be the likeness of his own mind. Each constructor, furnishing as much as he will, leaves a character within his own level. Mice never create mountains. But when the reality has lived among men, and wrought his image on their minds, then, from the abundant material of words and acts, he may be set forth, probably not entire, but as the section of a grand circle, from which we may ascertain the whole indicated by the part.

According to Chinese historians, Confucius was born in the kingdom of Lu, where now his sepulchre remains, during the reign of the twenty-third emperor of the dynasty of Tcheou. By his mother's side he descended from the noble family of Yen ; through his father he claimed descent from the emperor Tii, of a former dynasty ; which royalty of blood must have smoothed his way as a moral teacher into the courts of princes, for in no country is veneration for rank more general. We know of no historical facts which determine how far this circumstance aided his mission, but surely it justifies the conclusion, that Confucius is not to be regarded as a grand instance of individual genius rising above the obstacles of obscurity and poverty to hold the reins of spiritual empire over nations and ages. He started on vantage-ground ; though the nobility of his family now dates from him.

Several facts are reported of his early life. At the age of three he was fatherless, and on the brow of his childhood gravity and thoughtfulness reposed. Great maturity of faculties is ascribed to his infancy. He took no pleasure in sports. But nothing is related of the infant Confucius so strange as in the wilds of Persia is claimed by his disciples for the half-

fabulous Zoroaster, when they gravely affirm that he laughed the day he was born, and that, as a presage of his future knowledge, his brain palpitated so strongly that every hand approaching it was instantly repelled.

At the age of fifteen, Confucius is said to have mastered the sacred "Five Books," and indeed all the great works of the ancient legislators, from the wells of whose wisdom he never ceased to draw. Four years later he entered into the marriage relation, but soon after dissolved it, that he might, in perfect freedom from every embarrassment, give himself up to the political and moral renovation of his country; and at the age of twenty-three he is said to have entered upon his public career, as a teacher of duty in the courts and palaces of princes. These are the most interesting facts related of the childhood and the youth of Confucius.

Born and educated among the nobility, it was natural that this class should have been the first to hear his instructions. It is very certain that Confucius did not lack faith in the capacity of the popular mind, for the idea of the superior worth of human nature is uniformly clear in all his writings. He said, "I have never seen a man incapable of virtue. All can gain it." But he lived where princes, and not the people, ruled; where the virtues and vices of the great in office were imitated; where public opinion came always from the few. His course seemed to say, "If I can win the princes and their courts to wisdom and virtue, — through their influence descending upon the mass, I will gradually reform all the people." Nor was this reformatory scheme unworthy of his mind. The few have always created the character of society.

The sun has most splendor at its rising. So the extraordinary mind often ascends the horizon in magnificence, though perhaps soon to be obscured by clouds or darkened by eclipse. Great fame followed the first efforts of this youth, Confucius. Offices of state descended upon him. He accepted and he renounced them, as might best suit his grand purpose, the successful development of his moral views among his countrymen. Real greatness is never captivated by the means. After society had given him this encouraging reception, after he had worn for a time the honors of state, and before he had experienced the reaction of popular favor, he disrobed himself of all official dignities, and left his native kingdom, to enjoy the mental benefits of travel through differ-

ent parts of the empire. He would survey, we may imagine, the field of his future labors and influences. He would know the elements of society for himself. He would observe the scenes of nature and the manners of men, and doubtless he realized the truth of one of his own profound political maxims, subsequently expressed, — “ Study man in man ; for from that which is in man may be learned that by which to govern men.” Thus did observation and study unite to enrich a spirit whose ideas more than a score of centuries have not exhausted.

He at length returned to his native kingdom of Lu, where he accepted one of the principal offices, and where he is said so to have revolutionized the government as to have brought prince and subjects under the dominion of an exalted virtue, wisdom, and peace. An harmonious family, the favorite symbol of a well-ordered realm in the political language of China, is chosen as the figure by which to represent the elevation to which he had brought the state. The goodness of his teaching was no longer a problem unsolved by practice. The happy state of a whole kingdom proclaimed the reformer to be no idle theorist, no mere dreamer of perfect worlds that human beings can never reach. We may imagine the happiness of the great and good man as his own eye surveyed this result. But his joy was soon overclouded. For one of the neighbouring princes, moved by envy at the prosperous condition of this elevated kingdom, artfully planned its overthrow by sending to the court a number of accomplished ladies, whose influence so turned attention to feasts, dances, and various diversions, as to undermine the stern public virtues inculcated by the reformer, and plunged the nobles and all into the errors of Epicurean life with its natural consequences. The philosopher mournfully saw the tide of corruption widening in its dark, bold, and impetuous rush, threatening to destroy the only living monument that bore witness to the superior force of virtue as the source of prosperity to a kingdom. He boldly remonstrated as the state was sinking ; but the charms of woman, there as elsewhere, proving more potent than the philosopher’s voice, and unable longer to resist the flood of dissipation so boldly flowing over a country whose skies to him were now darkened by despair, he became a voluntary exile from his native Lu, and travelled through all the great cities and kingdoms of the empire. This conduct, though it may appear impatient and in a degree pas-

sionate to some, was but the deliberate embodiment of one of his own political maxims. "Readily abandon," says he, "thy country, when virtue is there depressed and vice encouraged. But if thou design not to renounce the maxims of the age in thy retreat and exile, remain in thy miserable country ; for what reason shouldst thou leave it ?" We will not pause to discuss the propriety of taking from a community the light of virtuous example because the darkness of vice settles down upon it ; something may be said for and against this idea of voluntary exile ; but the passage cited proves that he acted deliberately on an idea that had the sanction of his whole mind, and one which the progress of his reason in future years never induced him to renounce.

But fear and jealousy awoke at his presence, as he approached the various provinces and cities. The leading men trembled lest the superiority of his talents should undermine their power ; still more, perhaps, did they dislike the stern reproofs of his life, and the austere strictness of his morals, making him an unpleasant companion to the licentious nobles. None of the great kingdoms through which he passed, such as Tchi, Goo-shi, and Tsoo, invited him to take up his residence in any of their principal cities. Occasionally he received contemptuous treatment. The popular voice tuned itself by the favor, indifference, or opposition of the resident princes, now owning him as wisdom's oracle, and anon bestowing the opprobrium of satirical song. Was he not doomed at times to feel the force of that truth to which Pope has given poetic utterance ?—

" Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land ?
All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

But he well endured the "painful preëminence" to which his wisdom had brought him. He mourned that the sages of the earth were so few. He would fill the world with wise men. Neglecting his personal interests, he was brought to the borders of extreme poverty, the not uncommon lot of true reformers. But he devised for himself deliverance in becoming a private teacher. He would master his evils. Certain sages told him to despair of the world and become a hermit. But greatness is never discouraged. He had too much faith in human capacity, too much love for human nature, and too much confidence in the omnipotence of truth, to obey such counsel. He looked all his evils in the face,

and resolved to live for men and with men, no longer confining his labors to palaces, but giving them freely to all who would listen and learn. Nor was this, probably, the first instance, since the world began, in which ill-success among the great has awakened a more democratic sentiment in the bosom of a gifted noble. His favorite plan of reforming all through the higher classes seems to have somewhat waned. He probably saw that social position was not the mightiest power; that genial souls were not confined to the courts of princes; that much good could be done to that common mind which in later ages heard "gladly" the divinest teaching, — teaching which the sophisticated religionist of high places could not half so well apprehend.

That the plan of Confucius spread over a wider territory than the boundaries of China proper is, perhaps, matter of doubt, although it is affirmed, that, in the expansion of his benevolence, he had purposed the ultimate extension of his labors into foreign countries. He was a universal man; and it cannot be supposed that his nation formed the boundary of his sympathy. That he was capable of a benevolent scheme which should cover the whole world is not impossible; and that he would have enlightened the whole race, were it practicable, cannot be doubted; for no view of the brotherhood of man can be wider than that given in one of his simple utterances, namely, "All the men of the earth are thy brethren." It is certain, however, that he sent out no missionaries to carry his views to other lands, though hundreds were employed in their dissemination within the limits of China. Every wise reformer begins at home; and as Confucius did not succeed during his lifetime in effecting the moral revolution he had designed, it is impossible to determine what he would have done for the world out of China, had he succeeded at home. It is certain that the reformer was deeply conscious that the moral science he unfolded belonged to the human race.

During the life of this wonderful man, the historians allege that he had no less than three thousand disciples, five hundred of whom are said to have attained the highest offices of government, whilst they celebrate only seventy-two for the superiority of their attainments, and only ten for a perfect capacity to measure their master's mind. Perhaps this last number should have been still further reduced. Coming into public life at the age of twenty-three and dying in the seventy-

third year of his age, he enjoyed half a century in which to perfect his views, and to witness their effect on the lives of others. His success in reality was such as might have been reasonably anticipated, although not half equal to his hopes, as shown by the fact that the last three years of his life were spent in retirement and sorrow, in view of the corruption of the age; and he died despairing of the good for which he had lived. But when death came, veneration revived. Some princely eyes wept, that Tien had taken from the earth so great a light. Forlorn Confucius! He left the earth without a glimpse of the glorious influences his words were destined to exert. Yet, for all that appears to the contrary, his faith in what he had taught remained as adamant to the last. On the banks of the same river where his scholars once gathered around him now stands his sepulchre, whilst in his many temples, visited by the reverent footsteps of millions, flowers, fruits, perfumes, and incense are everywhere offered to his memory. We will quote the sentence written in gilt letters on a table in all his temples, not only because it expresses the reverence universally felt for his name, but because it clearly implies that the ideas of a spiritual nature and world exist in the popular faith of the Chinese. "O Confucius! our revered master! Let thy spiritual part descend and be pleased with this tribute of respect which we now humbly offer thee!" — a prayer without reason, except as uttered by those who believe in spiritual existences after death.*

From the historical facts in the life of Confucius, we now

* Lieutenant Forbes asserts that the number of temples erected to the memory of Confucius is "upwards of 1560." These temples, he says, "usually cover an enormous area; one establishment at Ningpo occupies about ten acres of land, laid out in ornamental temples of all sizes, triumphal entrances, fountains, and tanks, and courts planted with trees, mostly yew. But, except on occasion of a festival, these are rarely or never visited, and the grass grows in abundance through the interstices of the pavement. The only ornaments are carved beams and huge frames, containing maxims and sayings of the patriarch." The following curious estimate of the sacrificial honors paid to his name we give in the words of Lieutenant Forbes. "It is calculated," says he, "that there are sacrificed every year," on the two festivals held in honor of Confucius, "6 bullocks, 27,000 pigs, 5,800 sheep, 2,800 deer, and 27,000 rabbits; besides 27,000 pieces of silk that are burned upon his altars." — pp. 124, 125.

Lieutenant Forbes confines himself to a very slight notice of the personal history and teachings of Confucius, the purpose of his work not requiring more. Mr. Ritchie treats the subject somewhat more at large, but still without any pretension to fulness. We have gathered the materials used in the present article almost exclusively from other sources.

pass to a sketch of his abstract views, precepts, and opinions. We would again remind our readers, that he is presented to us as the statesman and the moral teacher, not as the prophet or apostle of a new religion. But his statesmanship is not his strong point, for he was not only content with the past, but even praised the legislation of antiquity as the model of perfection. The great and beautiful fact in his statesmanship seems to be the reliance he constantly places on virtue, as the only means of safety and prosperity to the state. Man's relation to this harmonizes with his relations to Tien, mankind, and justice, and partakes of all the solemnity and greatness which the universal ethics of nature impose. But all the points of view under which Confucius may be contemplated are secondary to that of the moral teacher, a higher than which cannot be conceived.

Before we undertake the exhibition of his leading thoughts, we would notice two remarkable traits of his mind, which, though apparently discordant, yet in the action of his genius are made to harmonize. We mean his reverence for the past, and his intuitive power. No man esteemed the past more than he. He ever quoted its writings and its illustrious examples. By its light he would reprove and instruct the present. As the Chinese great man, it was natural that he should exhibit this trait of his race ; nor can it be questioned, that, through this apparent defect, he brought a deep and universal feeling of his nation under tribute to his cause. It is not uncommon for the truly great man to feel deeply the poverty both of the past and the present, and, reaching forward, to bring down the ungathered thoughts of future times. But Confucius only mourned the present. He turned admiring eyes toward an Eden of sages and princes far back in the distant time. So much did he dwell on the wisdom of the ancient worthies, Yao, Shun, Tching-tang, Yu, and Ven-Vang, that he came finally to be regarded very much as the representative of the imperial sages. And so far was he from wishing to conceal this character under the mantle of original wisdom, that he publicly accepted it.

But his was no merely traditional mind. He shed upon the antiquity he explored the light of his own superlative genius ; so that the past which he saw was not the past that others saw. He readily perceived the great principles into which facts are resolved. " The whole doctrine of the three hundred poems," said Confucius, " is reduced to these

few words, Su Vu Sie, which import that we ought not to think any thing that is wicked or impure." As an instance of the clearness with which he saw the Universal, we will present the opening paragraphs of his first two Books, translated from the French of the Jesuit missionaries of Peking.

"The true wisdom is to enlighten the spirit and to purify the heart, to love mankind and to cause them to love virtue ; — to surmount every obstacle in order to be united to the Supreme Good, and to be attached only to it." "Tien has written his law in our hearts, nature has revealed it, the rules of manners are founded on its teachings ; wisdom consists in knowing them, virtue in following them."

Indeed, it is almost impossible for Confucius to touch a topic, however local it may be, without compelling it to yield some abstract thought, some universal law. This highest power of genius — the ability to see at once the principles which lie at the bottom of facts — was his in a preëminent degree, and it shed a light over all the homage he paid to the past.

He quoted the ancient Odes and Princes, never without wisdom, and often with eloquence. The passages quoted served to introduce his topics, and, connected with the comments of his own mind, spoke with new energy to the minds he addressed.

"It is written," says he, "in the Chou-king, 'Apply yourselves to reform and to renew the manners of the people.'" Again : "In the Chi-king it is written, 'The Mienman (a bird) knows how to perch itself on the trees of the hill.' Alas ! this small bird places itself aright ; how does man appear not to know ? Ought the rays of reason, that enlighten him, to direct him less surely than the instinct of nature this wild sparrow ?" — "The Ode says, 'An irreproachable life carries afar an impression of light and innocence which corrects the manners of the people.'" — "The poet sings, 'The lute has nothing so sweet as the voice of the spouse who loves concord. O life of hearts and of minds, thou hast the joy and felicity of brothers.'" — "'The eagle,' says the poet, 'takes his flight and soars beyond the clouds ; the dolphin plunges with rapidity and sees the bottom of the sea.'"

From the last symbol the speaker could say, — Behold the saint ! He, too, rises into the sublime heights and descends into the profound depths !

"It is written in the Chi-king, 'Such as saw the reeds which grew on the banks of the Ki adorn it perpetually with new foli-

age, spreading wide their branches and displaying all around a verdure that charmed the eyes, — such offer to our notice the good prince Onen-onang. His mind is as an ivory sculptured, — like a diamond cut and polished. Its perfection is his work. O the elevation of his thoughts, and the nobleness of his sentiments, the dignity of his person! His glory shall be immortal as his virtues.”

These are fair specimens of the writings used by him. Frequent are his appeals to the legislative and the poetic minds of former time. But the ancient saying was his servant, not his master. He dealt in old things somewhat as the spirit of nature deals with particles and elements as old as the creation, constantly working them into new forms of life.

He began with the inward life.

“Labor to purify thy thoughts; for if thy thoughts are not impure, neither will thy actions be.” “The wise man seeks the cause of his defects in himself; but the fool, avoiding himself, seeks it in all others besides himself.”

Moral genius always penetrates the fact, that every man’s outward life is but a stream from the invisible fountain of inward mind; and though the stupid may not detect and the ritualist may deny it, this is evermore the primary truth in all ascent to moral perfection. The superficial teacher takes you abroad for deliverance; the true teacher brings you home, and opens the unseen springs of life within you. This did Confucius.

“The laws of conduct,” said he, “are immutable: they were no more the same, were they able to change.” “There are things more sublime than the eye has ever seen or the ear heard: it is in the sanctuary of the conscience that he studies them.”

Confucius was no materialist. The soul was of a higher nature, and its spiritual beauty transcended the grandeur of all outward scenes.

The supreme good, or chief end of man, is, according to Confucius, the entire conformity of human action with right reason. Virtue is the end of life. This view sheds its moral brightness over all he says. He contemplates every topic from its moral point of view. This is as prominent in his politics as in his most abstract discussion of morals. And as the philosopher comes to us very much in the enve-

lope of the statesman, we must dwell for a moment on some of his political thoughts.

"A kingdom is rich only by justice and virtue." "Virtue is the sun of government." "There is no difference in this respect between an emperor and the least of his subjects. Virtue is the root of all good. To cultivate it is the first duty and the most serious concern of life. If one neglects it, the disorders of the heart pass into the conduct, and he builds only upon ruins." "Virtue is the unshaken foundation of the throne, and the ever-flowing source of authority; riches and offices are only the ornament." "Justice is the most precious and inexhaustible treasure of the state."

These passages show us the supreme importance which Confucius attached to moral principle as an element of dignity and happiness to the state. To him, the chief good of man and that of the state were the same. No policy, no craft of the politician could sustain the glory of a kingdom. Nothing but the triumph of the great moral laws, united with deliberate wisdom, could do this. This lesson of ages, prominent as the sun in the politics of Confucius, and not less so in all the glories and ruins of the past, is still one in which mankind but half believe, and consequently it is but half obeyed; for states, as well as persons, usually act from their real faith. He said that the royal robe should always be humbly worn. He constantly urged upon princes the most solemn sense of their responsibility, affirming that the destiny of the people was ever in their hands. Those who regarded the magnificence of the state as the offspring of riches, rather than of wisdom and virtue, he called base men. He said the prince should seek virtue more than talent and genius in those whom he might honor with office. He would check the ambition for territory. He taught that a kingdom was large enough when its subjects were contented. The ideal prince demanded by Confucius was indeed a sublime being. He was perfectly the master of himself. He displayed in his example all the virtues he would have his subjects imitate. His prince desired little of what other men sought. He looked down upon riches, children, and life itself, as but transient advantages. "Yao," said he, "saw nothing above him but heaven, to which he was entirely conformed." Few Yaos were there in his day!

So strong was his reliance on moral power, and so clement was his heart, that he found much fault with the severe cor-

poral punishments inflicted by the magistrates. It is good to hear a mild voice of mercy coming from the distance of twenty-five hundred years. It is good to behold one towering up in spiritual height above the practice of his times and to hear him urging princes to wield the power of clemency and good example over their subjects, and telling them that the prevalence of severe punishments is proof of their want of virtue. It is still common in China to inflict suffering with the bamboo, and many die after the infliction of one hundred blows. Notwithstanding the tenderness of which we have spoken as belonging to Confucius, it should not be inferred that he would hold the reins of government with a lax and inefficient hand, for he distinctly says, — “The beneficence of a prince shines not less in the rigors he exercises than in the most affecting proofs of his goodness.”

In the analysis of his political views, it is not a little remarkable that the idea of individual self-government should have been the basis of all his wisdom. He began with individual man. In the perfect self-control gained by one man he saw the symbol of government for the state, the empire, and the world. And why not? Is not right and justice in one man the universal right and justice? Thus runs a paragraph of the *Tahio* : —

“A prince, who wished to conquer the whole empire to innocence and truth, applied himself assiduously to govern well his states. He began by putting his house in good order; his chief care was to regulate his conduct; he applied himself, above all, to rectify his inclinations; he labored very much to invigorate his resolutions; in order to strengthen his resolutions, he strove to establish his thoughts; finally, to establish his thoughts, he aspired to reasoning, even to the primal origin and final end of all creatures, and formed to himself a clear idea.

“In effect, the clear idea of the origin and the end of all creatures established his thoughts; his thoughts being established, these strengthened his resolutions; his resolutions being confirmed, these served to rectify his inclinations; his inclinations being corrected, these served to regulate his conduct; his conduct being rightly ordered, it was easy to put his house in good order; the good order reigning in his house facilitated the good administration of his states; and his states, finally, being well governed, gave tone to the whole empire, and virtue was made to flourish.”

The author of these thoughts evidently saw in one the

elements of all. He saw that nothing was done in the science of self-government, until there was permanence and continuity of thought ; nor can it strike us as other than an extraordinary idea, that he should recommend the study of the universe in the relation of cause and effect as the best mode of acquiring order and clearness in the intellectual operations, without which self-control is utterly impossible.

We now take leave of Confucius as the statesman, remarking simply, that, rare as it is to find the moral philosopher under the garb of the statesman, the union of the two is by no means unnatural. Selfishness and craft were as common to the politics of his day as they are to ours. But from that selfish level, Confucius towered upward as a mountain from the plain.

Though the love of nature distinguished him, as it does all harmonious minds, he did not cover his ideas with a profuseness of symbol. Indeed, his use of imagery is very limited, much more so than is common to the genius of Oriental minds ; sensible objects coming in here and there as mere illustration. His thoughts come to us in the abstract and spiritual form, though he often finds the happiest comparisons. For instance, he asked the fowlers busy with snares, if they caught the young birds. "No," said they, "not while the old birds are with them. If these were away, we could easily catch the young." "True," responded Confucius, "it is so with all ; take away the wisdom of ages, and we are easily ensnared."

Though, like Socrates, Confucius soared into the pure empyrean of moral science, he was not without his speculations on the material universe. He grappled somewhat with the same difficulties as did the intellectual Greek, on the origin of matter. To him nothing was nothing ; and as something never springs from nothing, he asserted the eternity of material substance. He contemplated the universe as one animated system, composed of one matter and one spiritual being, of which each thing is an emanation, and to which every living thing returns, when separated by death from its particular material part. Thus, the tree and flower are emanations, and there is that in each which lives on, which returns to the emanating cause, after dissolution occurs. Zoroaster said that fire was the best emblem of the Divinity ; but Confucius represented Tien under no distinct image. His was the purely spiritual conception ; the sun,

moon, and stars being but agencies. When Li-la-kion asserted the multiplicity of gods, Confucius opposed and arrested the tide of idolatry which began to overflow.

What most strikes us in Confucius is the harmony of all his powers. He speaks like a man of well-balanced faculties. His strength did not grow up into one idea or one virtue. He would have the character well poised, like the stars in space. He was himself celebrated for his equanimity under every reverse of fortune. He was passionately fond of music. Hoanhee, the military chieftain, violently attacked his person ; but his serenity was not disturbed. As an illustration of the mental harmony we have ascribed to him, we may adduce his view of the "constant medium," or just mean, to which he said the sage should ever aspire. By this he meant the avoidance of extremes, of the too much and the too little, in every direction, as the way to gain the proportion essential to perfection. We will quote a paragraph of the T'chong-yong.

"Whilst the passions, quiet and composed, restrain life under the sway of reason, the whole mind is in a calm profound, and this calmness is called the constant medium. If their excitement and their sallies attract him not beyond bounds, this new state is called harmony. The constant medium is as the foundation and the support of this vast universe. Harmony is the grand rule and true bond. From the perfection of these two descend, as from their source, the repose of the world and the life of being." Again : — "The sage keeps a just mean in all things. The insensible remove it." "O, this constant medium is grand and sublime, but how few are able to keep it for a long time !"

Art, labor, and courage are constantly required. Thus discoursed Confucius on the just mean, comparing its tranquillity to the tops of lofty mountains, above the lightning's gleam and the tempest's rage.

The saints more than the sages of Confucius are remarkable men ; for they have not departed from the right reason and innocence that Tien gave to all mankind. His are the saints of reason who have never forsaken its light. Sanctity is but the completeness of virtue, and sympathy, according to his philosophy, must never be impulsive. His sage never sheds tears at the death of friends. The philosopher himself once wept when a favorite disciple was taken away, for which he afterward apologized by saying that he had forgotten himself. Indeed, the Chinese never say that their friend

"has died," but that "he has returned to his family." Thus did the teaching of Confucius occasionally border on the snows of that frigid clime where dwell the Stoic and his pride.

Throughout his doctrine there flows an exalted view of human nature. He was deeply conscious of its worth. We do not know, however, that he was in any degree original in the conception or expression of this truth; for in the popular faith of China this idea generally prevails, and there is no evidence that he first expressed it. Perhaps the following, from the Chinese "Classical Books," fairly embodies the general idea on this topic: — "All things are contained complete within ourselves. There is no greater joy than to turn round upon ourselves and become perfect." Confucius recognizes the moral wealth of humanity in all his appeals to the moral law which Heaven has engraved on the human heart. The one expression in the *Lun-yu*, "Man is born right," clearly reveals his exalted opinion of human nature; and the fact, that the virtues he describes are not a foreign, but a natural, growth of what all souls contain, looks plainly in the same direction. The language ascribed to him in the "Ancient Fragments" is, — "The natural light is only a perpetual conformity of our soul with the laws of Heaven. Men can never lose this light. It is true, that, the heart of man being inconstant and wavering, it is sometimes covered over with so many clouds, that the light seems wholly extinguished." But he denies that it is in reality ever wholly quenched.

Confucius condemned men of many words and much profession. "Who is a superior man?" asked Tse-kung. Confucius answered, "He who first practises his words, and then speaks accordingly." The world is slow to learn that there is a divine silence as well as a divine speech. Confucius saw that Tien spoke through silence a diviner wisdom than words express. He said, —

"Silence is absolutely necessary to the wise man. Great speeches, elaborate discourses, pieces of eloquence, ought to be a language unknown to him; his actions ought to be his language. As for me, I would never speak more. Heaven speaks; but what language does it use to preach to men? That there is a sovereign principle from which all things proceed; a sovereign principle which makes them to act and move. Its motion is its language; it reduces the seasons to their time, — it agitates nature, — it makes it produce. This silence is eloquent."

His sage is an eloquent speaker only when his oration is composed of eloquent deeds.

The immortality of the Milesian wise man was well vested in the deathless saying, "Know thyself," since self-knowledge is father to self-government. But a greater than Thales speaks in the Confucian precept, "Conquer thyself"; for self-conquest is the end, and self-knowledge the means. "To conquer thyself is only to do what is agreeable to reason." Many are the roads that lead to virtue, all of which the wise should know. This proves that the philosopher had no one exclusive mould in which to run the good man.

Confucius has perhaps too elaborately described virtue, which in his teaching is a strong, deep, and beautiful power, through which the sage and saint rise superior to pleasure and sorrow. Nothing troubles his man of virtue. And why? "Because," says he, "he practises not virtue for a reward. The practice of virtue is the sole reward he expects." Confucius made no merchandise of righteousness; and in the free, spontaneous character he would give to its practice, is he not centuries in advance of some Christian writers, and certainly far beyond Paley, who reckons up the losses and gains, somewhat as a grocer does his bill, giving the balance to good actions, which, he thinks, should be done "for the sake of everlasting happiness"?

"I have never seen any one who loves virtue as we love beauty," said this sage. "Beauty charms all eyes." His disciple asked him to define the man of virtue. "He has," replied he, "neither sorrow nor fear." "Does that alone constitute the character?" continued the learner. "If a man searches within, and finds nothing wrong, need he have either sorrow or fear?" was the reply. The tree of virtue, in his view, can flourish only by taking deep root in the human heart. It must be cherished by the affections, and cultivated by practice. "It is not enough to know virtue, it is necessary to love it; but it is not sufficient to love it, it is necessary to possess it." But the road to virtue he pronounced long, in which the traveller must advance step by step, until he arrives at the end. Confucius said, "If any one firmly applies his mind to virtue, he does nothing that is low or contrary to reason." "Virtue is not solitary, nor the likeness of the desert; usually it has neighbours, worshippers, and followers."

"What is valor?" demanded Tzelou of Confucius. "Among the people of the South," answered the sage, "it consists in winning the affections to virtue through beneficence and persuasion, and in disgusting them with vice through patience and gentleness. This is the valor of philosophers. The people of the North place it in sleep, clothing, the bow and the lance, and in meeting danger and death undaunted. This is the valor of heroes. To adhere to complaisance, and never to carry this to the extreme of weakness, — to preserve himself upright in the company of the various persons walking at random, and never to yield to any misfortune, — to cultivate virtue, — to die rather than violate his duty, — this is the true force, the valor to which the sage aspires."

There has not been unfolded by nineteen centuries of Christian progress a worthier conception of the highest form of power and valor possible to man.

Friendship, in the view of Confucius, is a flower to be cultivated. But if the sage familiarly associates with the mass of the people, they will heap indignities upon him. He points out three dangerous friends, the hypocritical, the flatterer, and the loquacious, and in the limitations he assigned, he said, "Never contract friendship with a man who is not better than thyself." Strictly construed, would not this rule preclude all friendship? The same principle that binds the seeker to find his superior would cause the superior to refuse his overture. Or did the moralist simply mean, that each party contracting friendship should think the other better than himself? He instructs his sage to hate several kinds of persons, and especially those who delight to discourse on the faults of others. But of his mild philosophy revenge forms no part. He taught men never to revenge injuries, and never to desire the death of an enemy; though perhaps, through the strong reverence for the parental relation so common in China, he admitted an exception to this mild interdiction, when he told the young man not to live in the same kingdom with him who had slain his father.

Reverence to superiors is one of the distinguishing traits of the Confucian morality. In a Chinese great man, we should naturally anticipate the prominence of this view. But Confucius introduces important qualifications. The subject should become a voluntary exile, sooner than live under the corrupting example of a wicked prince; and sons should acquaint parents with their faults, though it bring down their

displeasure. He distinguishes three things which the wise man ought to reverence, namely, "The laws of Heaven, great men, and the words of good men." To these objects of reverence the race must bow; for what more naturally challenges general homage?

Love is an eminent characteristic of the great man. It widens with his thought, and partakes of its universality and exaltation. Confucius speaks of love, even the universal love. Justice, in his view, proceeds from it. "The love of the perfect man is a universal love, whose object is all mankind." He dealt in nothing foreign to the soul. The love becoming all men, he said, is no stranger to man; nay, it is man himself. The Swedish mystic uttered no falsehood when he said, "Love is the life of man"; for always as any man's love is, so are his conduct and his character. The whole intellect of every man obeys his love. Thought ever goes at its bidding. Even our dreams are not out of its sway. He who keeps a pure love has nothing to fear. Every thing else is of necessity right. Confucius said, that it is the good man alone who is able either to love or to hate with reason. "He who persecutes a good man," said he, "makes war against Heaven. The good man is one with Tien; if you persecute the former, you take up arms against the latter." In the mirror of this idea, may not the bigotry of Christendom behold its image?

Patriotism, which, to say the least, is a natural feeling, since every man is formed more by his particular country than by the whole world, is sanctioned by Confucius. He told his disciples freely to expose themselves, when their country's safety demanded.

We find in the writings of Confucius the golden rule in two forms, the negative and the positive. In the T'chong-yong it occurs in the negative form. Men are there encouraged to approximate to wisdom, and its first lesson is thus announced:—"Do not to any one that which you do not wish should be done to you." This proves that the positive law had been discovered, out of which the negative precept sprang. But in the third book the great precept thus occurs:—"Do unto another as thou wouldst be dealt with thyself. Thou needest this law alone; it is the foundation and principle of all the rest." This sunbeam, which darted from the moral nature of man nearly twenty-four centuries ago, is the brightest ray of human duty. It is

wonderfully simple, though it partakes of the greatness of a universal law. The Divine Teacher of Judea gave out the same thought, as the great law of social justice, as the end and substance of the Law and the Prophets.

We would not present Confucius as a faultless philosopher. This moment our eye rests on a passage to us untrue. The sage who has faults that will be noticed he instructs to "cover himself as with a cloud." But true virtue acts nobly from its own impulses; all excellence holds a measure of spontaneity in it. Yet the teaching of Confucius constantly tends to make men better, and if his mission may be summed up in a few words, it was, to teach mankind the useful science of being good. He relied on no mystic words or acts, but taught plainly, that, if men would learn to die well, they must first learn to live well.

As personal form, properly understood, is the biography and image of indwelling mind, we would know the personal appearance of this wonderful man. His figure had fine proportions. He was tall and stately. His eyes were large and well formed. His countenance had an olive complexion, with beard long and black. His chest was broad, indicating the power of the arterial system, and his voice had force and sharpness. The extraordinary projection of his forehead caused his father, in sport, to call him, when young, Kieoo, or "the little hill." This potent organism sustained through a long life the ceaseless action of his gigantic mind. His disciples testify, that he was in manners mild, affable, and bland, and at the same time venerable and composed. He was regardful of others, kind and reverent. When he reasoned and reproved, he was grave and severe.

We have alluded to his last days as being full of sorrow on account of his hopeless country. "The mountain is fallen," exclaimed the despairing philosopher, "the high machine is demolished, and all the sages have disappeared. The kings refuse to follow my maxims, and, since I am no longer useful on earth, it is well that I leave it." He then fell into a lethargic state, which continued seven days, when the hoary sage closed his eyes for ever to a world which to him had a sunless horizon, so far as its reformation was concerned.

Still, Confucius is the Chinese great man, though the property of all. The great veneration for the past, the rev-

erence for superiors, the calm spirit, the strong imitation and wonder, the peculiar combination of imagination and taste, tending to a redundant description, — these traits of his race unite in shedding their colors upon his mind. The mountain exhibits the soil of the surrounding plain, and more than reveals its internal wealth. The great man, however high above, ever represents the common mass. That Confucius shared in his countrymen's love of the marvellous is evident in this, that a species of divination by which the future might be known held a place in his confidence, whilst he sometimes spoke of the invisible spirits surrounding us, and of the protection they extend to men. Even Socrates admitted that the gods gave signs.

The Chinese hues of his genius appear, we think, particularly in his elaborate delineation of virtue, and in his frequent advice to imitate the wise and the good.

Both the sage and the saint of Confucius are portrayed in a thousand beautiful ways, and so perfect is the finish, that they appear as the polished specimens of fine art. They are too nice. The perfect in character needs no marks of great elaboration. In a story where the facts of life are so grouped together as to present a living goodness is the perfect in character best given. We prefer the simple parable of Jesus to the finely wrought picture of Confucius. Perfection, to be such, should not be conscious of itself. Shakspeare was probably far less conscious of genius than are the common scribblers. Perfect health is scarcely sensible of a stomach, a lung, or a spine. These remarks do not refer to Confucius personally, for he often disclaimed the praises bestowed upon him. And although he says that virtue in the sage is so natural that it appears to be unnoticed by himself, and that his modesty eclipses his virtues, we are unable to follow his numerous delineations of the wise and good without discovering on the costume in which they are arrayed a tinge of the Chinese, — that is to say, too much of the artistic.

He exhorts the aspirant to virtue to imitate the wise and the good, though never without discretion. He makes free use of the term "imitation." But there is an original genius in each man's nature, worth infinitely more than imitation can bring. The rose and the thorn take up the vigor of the same surrounding nature, but each in its own way. It is thus that all life advances. Each thing, so to speak, transforms

according to its own particular genius. No jot of individuality is lost. So with each mind. No good can come but through the transforming power of its own genius and life. It is not the imitation of wise men and good that we want. We want the wise men, not their likenesses. Jesus never told one man to imitate another. Why imitate Chaon, Ven Vam, Yaon, and Onen-onang, when every virtue they had lies infolded in the breast of every youth in China? Away with imitation! It never brought any man to virtue. These defects, however, do not justify the conclusion, that Confucius was not the great light of heathen antiquity.

The great and strong will always be contrasted with one another. Nor can we object to this, since character is best known through contrast. Hence Confucius has been compared with Socrates, Moses, Zoroaster, Mohammed, and Jesus. But their spheres were not the same. He differs from all the great religious teachers in this respect, that he claimed no inspiration, attempted no miracles, uttered no prophecies, and in fact taught no new religion. Zoroaster occasionally, as it was believed, held converse with the gods, and Mohammed's beast bore him triumphantly, it was asserted, over many heavens; but Confucius humbly took his stand on the nature of man and the fitness of things. In his moral ideas, he is environed with a light that Mohammed and Zoroaster do not possess. He certainly soared above the latter in this, that he worshipped the Deity under no physical emblem, and did not, like him, divide the empire of the universe between Ormuzd and Ahriman, in order to account for the great conflict between good and evil. To him, Tien was One, justly and benevolently ruling over all. That as a metaphysician and dialectician he equalled the fine acuteness and happy utterance of the Greek mind, as represented in Socrates, we presume will not be claimed, though there is so little known of the real genius of the Chinese language, that very few, we imagine, would undertake to institute a comparison between the two, as mere dialecticians. But in the peculiar sphere of his greatness, which is that of a moral teacher, we opine that no one will attempt to bring forward his superior from all the lights of antiquity preceding the birth of Christianity.

A new and fresh conception of the unrivalled greatness, a deeper conviction of the divine inspiration, of Jesus springs up in the mind that travels over the richest fields of thought

occupied by the ancient sages. The contrast perpetually widens. His stand was not in the past. He referred to the present, living God as the source of his light, while the whelming ages flowed under his feet. He touched not the state ; but he touched the great springs of life in him from whom the state, with its glory and shame, must ever flow. An empire was no field equal to his plan. The world was his field. No royal birth gave him entrance into palaces, nor secured the patronage of the great. He did not begin with a class. He began with all ; though the common people, being less sophisticated, heard him more gladly. He taught no great homage to earthly superiors ; he taught rather a self-reverence, that refused to call any man master. He was gentle and compassionate to sinners. He advised no man to imitate his neighbour, however good or wise he might be ; human individuality was not invaded. He wrote nothing to perpetuate his teachings. Confucius had hundreds of learned men to propagate his views ; Jesus, while living, had but a few humble, uneducated peasants around him, not half understanding his purpose and mission. Confucius was learned ; Jesus by human institutions was wholly untaught. The one was aided by veneration for the past ; the other was violently opposed and persecuted by it. Confucius unfolded his mild philosophy among a people as peaceful as himself ; Jesus gave the lessons of peace at a time when all hearts were burning for revolution, and among a people constitutionally and habitually inclined to revenge. The one said, " Revenge not injuries " ; the other said, " Love your enemies."

Behold the contrast between the personal faith of these two teachers ! The one sorrowed and mourned, the three last years of his life, because he could not, as he thought, be useful. We respect the sorrow, for none but a noble spirit could have had it. He died in this despair. The other, though beaten by the storm of human passion, though deeply moved by the overwhelming sense of coming woe, and though foreseeing the certainty of a death marked with shame and violence, saw clearly through the blackness of cloud and storm to the sun itself, and felt himself glorified in its light, — felt that the hour was come. He spoke of his death as his glorification, and always had he cherished a deep consciousness of the certain victorious results of his labor and mission. Confucius enjoyed half a century of years, in which to mature his wisdom and deepen his influ-

ence. The public life of Jesus numbered but about three years, — probably not that, — and his thought the profoundest have not yet measured, the ages have not yet compassed. How powerfully his words have wrought ! All the civilizations and reforms of the earth are judged by them. How mighty that pure life of his ! It is still the reproof of all other lives. In the simple and beautiful majesty of his mind, earth's noblest sons are poor indeed. Yet, while we ascribe to Jesus an inspiration and authority to which Confucius laid no claim, it is beautiful to see the reformer of China evolving some of the same universal truths which the Saviour of mankind taught, and which, like the ever tranquil stars, brighten the firmament of moral science and of human happiness. From all we know of Confucius, we love and revere him. We admire his attachment to moral ideas. His life teaches the moral wealth of human nature, not less in our own age than in the remote period to which his name belongs.

E. G. H.

ART. II. — HISTORY OF HARVARD COLLEGE.*

THAT was a happy thought which suggested the preparation of this little volume. Its small size, however, is to be taken inversely, as indicating the great labor required for selecting, condensing, and presenting in an interesting and lively way those portions of the College history which chiefly involve its fame and influence. After the death of the late librarian, Benjamin Peirce, his friend, Mr. John Pickering, edited the single volume of his College History, and the public received it with gratitude. Midway in his own laborious and successful presidency of sixteen years, Mr. Quincy commenced his History of the institution, down to the period of his own election. His two elegant and elaborate volumes, published in 1840, and munificently presented by the author to be sold for the benefit of the College, cannot be superseded, and will always retain their value. Still, Mr. Eliot's book was needed, and greatly needed. • When we say that

* *A Sketch of the History of Harvard College, and of its Present State.*
By SAMUEL A. ELIOT. Boston : Little & Brown. 1848. 16mo. pp. 190.

it is the most useful book which has been published about the College, we mean that it will be most used, and is best adapted for use, and will be likely to bring the other histories into greater use, besides that its compact form and its good spirit will win for it distant and strange readers, and secure their approval. Friends of the College who have not leisure for reading so voluminous a work as President Quincy's, and parents at a distance, who have sent or shall send their sons thither, will be pleased to receive just such a volume as that before us. It is somewhat remarkable, that, in the constant drafts upon all interesting and profitable subjects for book-making, no one should have put his hand to such a task before. We are glad, that, having been so long left undone, it is now done after the best fashion, with a dignity that becomes the subject, and with a fidelity that belongs to him who has treated it. The circulation of the book will depend upon the circulation of the fact that such a book exists. It contains ample information concerning the past history and the present state of Harvard College, to meet all the wants of general readers.

The author first intended an abridgment of President Quincy's History. So far as a condensed statement of historical facts goes, this, of course, must be its character. But Mr. Eliot has consulted for himself all the original sources of information, he offers many views and suggestions of his own, and has added many interesting particulars. He hopes, however, to excite in his readers the curiosity which shall lead them to the larger history. Himself the son of a munificent benefactor of the College, and a follower in that respect of parental example, a graduate, and now, as its treasurer, a member of its Corporation, he has a full knowledge of his subject, and is aware on what points others need and wish for information. We will give a sketch of his Sketch, and then invite attention to what it suggests to us.

The terms of the different Presidents furnish the natural divisions of this historical sketch into periods of time, and under each period is given a succinct account of the events and circumstances which signalized it in the College annals. The school in the wilderness, with its handful of pupils, its President and assistant, seems from the first moment of its existence to have been regarded, with even more than the spirit of prophecy, as indeed and actually the very institution which it has become after the labors and gifts of more than two

centuries. So far from despising "the day of small things," our fathers might almost be chargeable with an undue estimation of its importance. Mr. Eliot pays an appropriate homage to the patient virtues and the unrequited toils of those venerable men, Dunster, Chauncy, and Hoar, whose chief reward was their work. Passing glimpses are given us of the mode of life, the manners, and the studies within the College walls. Matters of controversy which from time to time arose, — on such issues as the claim of instructors to seats in the Corporation, the claim of Episcopal ministers to seats in the Board of Overseers, or the course of the famous revivalist, Whitefield, — and which involve long pages of dispute, are so lucidly presented in a brief compass, that the merits of both sides obtain equal justice. Other subjects of strife, especially those about religion, are treated with a dignified calmness and forbearance, not at all in a partisan spirit.

The benefactors of the College are duly commemorated. The following extract will, for various reasons, commend itself to our readers. After endeavouring to account for the fact, that the attention and interest of Thomas Hollis, an honored and successful merchant of London, were turned towards the College, Mr. Eliot thus proceeds : —

"But, from whatever cause his attachment arose, nothing could exceed the constancy with which he adhered to it when formed, or the kindness which he seems to have transmitted to his heirs and successors, so that the name of Hollis is enshrined in the memory of the alumni as scarcely less sacred than that of Harvard himself. His first donation was made in 1719, and consisted of goods to the value of £ 104. 4. 7. This was followed by several others of the same sort, and by presents of books, within a short time. He then sent over funds for ten scholarships, or for supplying ten indigent students with the sum of £ 10 per annum, each ; and in 1722 he founded a Professorship of Divinity, with a salary of £ 80. His donations of books and other articles were very frequent afterwards ; and it appears by a record of the Corporation, dated September 23, 1725, that he had, at that time, given to the College what was valued at £ 3670. 13. 0½. It was subsequently to this date that he established the Professorship of Mathematics ; so that his donations must, in the whole, have reached nearly £ 6000, including large numbers of books, together with types and other articles. The loss of the College books of account for this period has rendered it difficult to verify the dates and amounts of his several donations, and to ascertain with precision their entire sum ; but there are memoranda and

letters preserved, which fully confirm the estimate given above, and would perhaps justify a higher one. A remarkable circumstance attending his bounty, a circumstance as unusual as it is indicative of wisdom, is, that he gave all this, not by a will, to be carried into effect after his death, but that he stretched forth his living hand, and showered down abundant blessings without delay. He was thus enabled to see that his intentions were executed at once, and that arrangements were made on his own plan, at least in the beginning. At the same time, he was by no means wedded to a precise and narrow scheme; for the generosity with which he bestowed his wealth was only the overflow of that liberal spirit which was his characteristic in all things, and which was as rare in that age as it is honorable in all ages. He was a Baptist, and yet he laid the foundation for a theological professorship in an institution which he knew had always considered and treated his opinion on the subject of baptism as a pestilent heresy; whose first President had been deposed, and 'indicted by the grand jury,' for questioning the divine right of infant baptism; and to which he was reluctant to send his portrait, when asked to do so, lest it should be obnoxious to some whom he desired to benefit. On other points he was accounted orthodox, yet so little important did he deem it that all men should think as he did, upon dogmas which have been for ages under discussion, that, in preparing the rules for his professorship, he required no subscription to a creed, nor any other confession of faith than 'that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the only perfect rule of faith and practice.' It was, indeed, 'recommended to the electors, that at every choice they should prefer a man of sound and orthodox principles, one well gifted to teach; of a sober and pious life, and of a grave conversation.' It is at once obvious that a recommendation is not a rule; and the inference is irresistible, that, in deliberating upon this important instrument, he refused to insert a rule comprehending all these particulars. It is evident from President Quincy's account, that the words, 'of sound and orthodox principles,' were not the words of Hollis; and even if they had been so, that the orthodoxy which he would desire was not that which would be insisted on here is shown as conclusively as can be required, by the fact that he himself was not orthodox in that sense; by the fact that he expressly and particularly desired that being a Baptist might not operate to the exclusion of a candidate for his professorship; and by the fact that he himself inserted into his rules the words requiring that belief in the Scriptures, and that nothing else in the shape of creed, or confession of faith, was ever to be demanded of his professor.* It is impossible that Christian liberality should

* "A year or two before this time Hollis had been a member of a meeting

go farther; and one cannot but look with surprise, as well as respect, upon a man who, in that age, could escape the contagion of bigotry, which had been propagated by descent, and strengthened by example, in almost every sect of Christendom. That it was a degree of freedom from mental chains far beyond that to which our New England fathers had then generally attained is shown by the long-continued system of management to place the professorship of Divinity 'under proper regulations,' to use the language of the Overseers, and is illustrated by the following extract from Judge Sewall's Diary. 'January 10th, 1721. Overseers of the College met at the Council Chamber, to consider Mr. Hollis's proposals as to his Professor of Divinity. Debate was had in the forenoon about the article, "He shall be a master of arts, and in communion with a church of the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, or Baptists." I objected against that article, as choosing rather to lose the donation than accept it. In the afternoon I said, "One great end for which the planters came over into New England was to fly from the cross in baptism. For my part, I had rather have baptism administered with the incumbrance of the cross than not to have it administered at all. This qualification of the Divinity professor is to me a bribe to give my sentence in disparagement of infant baptism, and I will endeavour to shake my hands from holding it."'

"In later times the orthodoxy of New England has had opponents to contend with that were not then known; but it cannot be plausibly urged that the man who was deemed heretical himself should have been willing to clothe the presbytery, or the congregation, with power which he did not assume in establishing his own professorship. Certain it is, that he never required conformity to his own peculiar views of Scripture truth; and it is clear that he did not design to permit others to prescribe their peculiarities; so that the only way in which the trust can be

of Dissenting clergymen and others, held for devising means of promoting peace in a controversy which had arisen respecting the doctrine of the Trinity in some of the churches of the West of England. He was a member of a committee of this assembly that prepared 'a paper of advices,' with the design of healing the breaches that had been made. The object of the paper was to discountenance creeds expressed in words differing from the language of Scripture. It was proposed by some members of the assembly to annex to this a declaration of their own faith in the Trinity, but this was opposed on the ground that it would have the effect of making the doctrine a test-question, and, in reality, of requiring a declaration of faith, if they themselves thought it necessary to make one. The proposition was rejected by a vote of fifty-seven to fifty-three, and Hollis 'rejoiced' at this result. Thus he gave the most decisive evidence of his freedom from any wish to make his own belief the standard of orthodoxy, as there is no doubt of his faith in the doctrine in question. See 'Letter to Gov. Lincoln in Relation to Harvard University, by F. C. Gray,' 2d ed., pp. 27-29."

administered in the spirit of Hollis is, that it be administered in the spirit of charity and freedom." — pp. 39 – 43.

How large a place the College has filled in the affections of the people of Massachusetts, how many honored and faithful men it has given to the service of the Church and of the state, and how quickly and severely it felt all the embarrassments and trials of revolutionary times, will appear from Mr. Eliot's crowded pages. With a notice of the singular prosperity of the College under President Kirkland, the author closes his historical record, leaving the honorable and prosperous career of the late incumbent to some future writer. Doubtless this is a wise forbearance, and is not in this case attended with any delay of justice to the living. President Quincy can have no cause to adopt the doubtful complaint of the poet, —

" Those honors come too late
Which on our ashes wait."

The tribute which a grateful affection has paid to Dr. Kirkland's memory is at once so beautiful and so just, that we transfer it with pleasure to our pages. After speaking of the increase of the resources and influence of the College during his connection with it, Mr. Eliot proceeds : —

" But, while the whole must be regarded as the consequence of the combined labors and merits of many, the first place must be assigned to him who is entitled to it by the unanimous award of his contemporaries, who was regarded with a respect and affection never surpassed, and whose memory is cherished by multitudes as one of the precious recollections of their lives.

" The defects of Dr. Kirkland's character were neither of number nor of weight enough to justify, for a moment, a forgetfulness of his virtues. The carelessness which made him write his sermons upon mere scraps of paper, in an almost illegible hand, and the physical indolence which made him neglect to transcribe or arrange them, might excite a smile, rather than provoke a frown ; and were sure to be forgotten, and forgiven, by those who listened, with impressible hearts, to the lessons of wisdom and virtue with which his discourses were filled. And the College could well pardon inattention to matters of detail, in a President who did so much to raise the reputation of the institution, who contributed so largely to its extension in every direction, who brought into its management so much intellectual vigor, and into its treasury so large an amount of substantial wealth. The previous history of the College, honorable as it is in its whole

course, offers no parallel in brilliancy and usefulness to the presidency of Dr. Kirkland ; and the ambition of any future President may well be satisfied in attaining an equal elevation of renown, an equal influence with the community, a like affectionate respect from his contemporaries, and as strong and universal a love for his memory in those who come after him.

“ Dr. Kirkland’s connection with the College was dissolved in 1828 ; and he lived, for several years, in comparative retirement, suffering from the effects of a partial paralysis, with powers of body and mind considerably impaired ; but with the same undisturbed and delightful temper, and with an occasional flash of those clear and profound thoughts, that intellectual humor, and those generous affections, which, in previous years, had been the delight of all who knew him. His decease was attended by every circumstance that could mark the deep interest of the public, and prove the existence of those sentiments of reverence and love which pervaded the hearts of all.” — pp. 109, 110.

The most practically useful portion of Mr. Eliot’s volume is that which relates to the present state of the College. From this portion we make the following extract.

“ Harvard College, or University, as it is sometimes, though not with strict propriety, called, is one institution, but is divided into five quite distinct departments, which have separate instructors, separate funds, different pupils, and different objects. These are the academical department, or Harvard College as originally constituted, and the Theological, Law, Medical, and Scientific Schools, which have been gathered around it. They are all under the general management of one board, of seven members, called legally ‘ The President and Fellows of Harvard College,’ subject to the visitatorial power of the Board of Overseers, which consists of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Senate [with the Speaker of the House of Representatives] of the Commonwealth, and of fifteen clerical and fifteen lay members, who are chosen for life, or until they resign their office. The funds which have been given for the support of these various schools have been placed in the hands of the Corporation, as the President and Fellows are commonly called. That board has also the power of appointing all officers, of every description, subject, of course, to the approval of the Overseers ; and they are bound to prescribe the general rules by which each department is to be governed, and to see that they are carried into effect.

“ Young men are admitted, when qualified by a prescribed amount of literary attainments, into the academical department, at about the average age of sixteen ; and they pursue the usual course of a four years’ college education, under the immediate

instruction of seven professors and four tutors, who teach the learned languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, moral philosophy, rhetoric and elocution, the evidences of religion, both natural and revealed, political economy, and the modern languages. Besides these branches, which are taught by recitations and lectures, and by exercises in composition and declamation, the undergraduates are required, or have the opportunity, to hear lectures on Chemistry, History, Anatomy, Mineralogy, Botany, Astronomy, the Application of Science to the Useful Arts, and on the Means of preserving Health. Besides attending the lectures, they may give such an amount of time and attention to these various subjects as can be spared from the studies which call for more steady and devoted application. During the first two years all the studies are prescribed, and a pretty thorough knowledge is obtained of Greek, Latin, and Mathematics; and the study of History, Rhetoric, Metaphysics, Chemistry, and Modern Languages is begun. In the last two years of college life the pursuit of the higher branches of mathematics, and the attainment of critical skill in the ancient languages, together with further acquaintance with the modern languages, are made elective studies; and the others which have been enumerated are continued, in order to complete what is regarded as necessary for the foundation of those acquirements, and those habits of mind, which are indispensable to all who desire to be considered as cultivated or well-educated men, in the present age of the world.

“Four of the College buildings are occupied by the undergraduates as lodgings, and afford accommodation for about half of their number. Four other buildings are used for public purposes. Harvard Hall contains a lecture-room, the cabinet of minerals and shells, with a few fossils, and a large room for Commencement dinners, and other occasions on which the alumni assemble. In this room are the portraits of some of the officers and benefactors of the institution. Holden Chapel is converted into lecture-rooms, used at present for the lectures on anatomy and chemistry. University Hall contains the chapel and several recitation and lecture rooms. Gore Hall contains the library, amounting to about fifty-four thousand volumes.

“The funds which have been given for the support of the academical department, which is the earliest of the schools here established, the original and true Harvard College, are the following :

Funds given by various persons towards the payment of the salaries of Professors, and maintaining the Botanic Garden,	\$ 279,713.44
Funds appropriated to the Library,	16,549.43
Funds for prizes,	7,610.50

Funds for exhibitions, or aid to indigent students,	28,788.81
The stock account, or general fund derived from unrestricted donations, and from occasional balances. The actual value of this fund at the present time does not exceed	140,000.00
Total,	<u>\$ 472,662.18</u>

"The income of this sum, at five per cent. per annum, which is as much as can be obtained, on an average of years, is \$23,633.11; whereas the annual expenses of the College now exceed \$40,000. It will be observed that more than \$330,000 are appropriated, by the donors, to salaries of professors, the library, prizes, and exhibitions; while, besides these objects, there are salaries to be provided for many other necessary officers, and funds for repairs, and unavoidable expenses of various descriptions; so that it can be no matter of wonder to any one who considers the facts, that an annual deficiency of about \$20,000 is to be made up by a tax on the students. This is about \$75 or \$80 each; and if it were by itself, not mingled with other charges necessarily incurred, in consequence of the removal of the young man from the paternal roof, it would by no means be regarded as excessive, for the amount of instruction obtained. Good schools, in many parts of the country, for younger persons than undergraduates, often cost as much, and even more. It is undoubtedly burdensome to many, and for that reason the importance of the beneficiary fund is very great; and the advantage derived from it, as well as from another fund in the hands of trustees for a like purpose, is inestimable. But it is easy to see that so large an apparatus of officers and buildings can hardly be maintained at less cost; and that the best way in which the liberally disposed can now serve the interests of education at Cambridge is by unrestricted donations.

"It should be seen, also, that the pecuniary resources of the College, properly so called, instead of amounting, as is supposed by many persons who take a hasty glance at the annual statement of the treasurer, to nearly \$800,000, in reality amount only to the above-named sum of \$472,000; and even from this a large deduction should be made, on account of property of an unproductive nature held by the College. In fact, the productive funds of the seminary do not exceed \$390,000." — pp. 111–118.

Mr. Eliot gives some account of the administration of the four professional departments. We can copy only his remarks upon the Theological School.

"The Theological School first began to be spoken of, as a separate institution, at about the time when the Law School commenced its career. Instruction in theology had, for a long period,

perhaps from the foundation of the College, been given to graduates; at first by the President, and at a later date by the Hollis professor, or by the two together; but, in 1816, an effort was made to extend the means of this instruction, and a society was formed for the purpose of 'promoting theological education in Harvard College.' Something was effected at that time; a considerable sum was raised by subscription, and placed in the hands of trustees; but more was done by the reputation of the Hollis professor, and the Dexter lecturer. An increased number of students in this department, or resident graduates, as they were called, soon began to appear; and after a few years, another effort was made by the friends of the College, and of Unitarian Christianity, and somewhat more than money enough was obtained to erect a separate building for the use of the School. Gradually the funds for the support of the institution have been growing, till they now amount to upwards of \$84,000, and two professors have charge of from twenty to thirty pupils.

"It has happened, singularly enough, that the connection of this School with the College has been thought disadvantageous by the especial friends of both institutions. The patrons of the School have thought it to be harmed by its union with the College, and the particular friends of the academic department have thought this to be injuriously affected by having a Unitarian School associated with it. An injury to its reputation, with other denominations of Christians, it may have been; but, as the reciprocal influence of the School and College on each other is practically nothing, it seems impossible that the real character of either should suffer by the connection. The Theological School has no more direct influence on the College than the Law School, — not so much, indeed, — and it seems to be forgotten by many persons, that the only connection between them, as between any other two departments, is, that they are under the general direction of the same board, the Corporation. There is little or no association between the students in any two departments, and the funds are entirely distinct. Not a dollar given to the College has ever gone to the Theological School; and it may safely be predicted that none ever will go.

"The annual charge for instruction is low, being less than \$70, while there are considerable funds for the aid of indigent students. Three years are deemed necessary for a proper course of preparation for the duties of the profession. The bequest of Mr. Bussey will probably afford to this School, as well as to the Law department, the means of supporting two more professors." — pp. 123 — 125.

A rich and valuable Appendix contains, among other documents, the Charter of 1650, an original Letter on the Har-

vard Family, Epitaphs on many College officers, and lists of "Grants from the Legislature" and of "Donations and Bequests from Individuals." The laborious industry needed to prepare and authenticate these lists — invaluable records of the estimation in which sound learning has been held in this community — was well bestowed. A plan of the several parcels of ground successively deeded to the College by grant or purchase, and now composing the College inclosure, is added to the volume.

We close our notice of Mr. Eliot's book with a short paragraph in which he has happily contrasted the present position with the early state of the institution at Cambridge : —

"The contrast between what it was in 1642, and what it is in 1848, is striking. The first four classes consisted of twenty pupils, and the instructors were the President and, perhaps, a tutor or two. There was a single building for the accommodation of the entire institution, and somewhat less than three acres of land constituted the whole of its fixed property. At this moment, the pupils, in all the departments, number six hundred, with a good prospect of increase ; the instructors are twenty-three professors, four tutors, and three teachers of the modern languages. Besides these, are two astronomical observers, two librarians, and various other officers of government, of account, and of record. The buildings are thirteen in Cambridge, including the Observatory, and one in Boston, and another is to be immediately erected in Cambridge. The inclosure, in which are situated the greater number of the buildings, contains twenty-three or twenty-four acres, and the institution possesses, besides, various pieces of real estate in the cities of Cambridge and Boston. Its other property, for the purposes of all the departments, amounts to about seven hundred thousand dollars." — pp. 127, 128.

We turn now to a subject which, though it has been frequently discussed in our pages, still admits of extended remark.

The opinion entertained in some quarters through ignorance, and doubtless favored intentionally by some interested persons, is, that there is a great sectarian abuse practised at Cambridge, in a State institution. It is thought and said, that Orthodoxy founded and endowed the College for Orthodox purposes ; that good Orthodox men, such as Harvard and Hollis, and an Orthodox Colony, made large gifts of funds, which have risen in value, and been increased from

time to time by public and private munificence, for the sake of perpetuating the Orthodox faith, and with express conditions to that effect ; that the Unitarians have usurped the control of the institution, and, on the plea of some benefactions of their own to it, have turned it into a sectarian seminary, and, by connecting with it a theological department, have grossly perverted the institution and are guilty of a grievous injustice towards the Orthodox people of the Commonwealth.

What foundation there is for opinions or assertions like these we will leave to the judgment of all candid minds after the statement of a few irrefutable facts.

The very idea of a State institution, in the full sense of the phrase, involves these essential conditions : — the State must call the institution into being, must endow and support it, must assume and retain the direction of its affairs, must meet its necessary wants, must supply its pecuniary deficiencies, and must appoint all its office-holders. So far as any coördinate authority, independent of State functionaries, is admitted, the State divides its control, and, if it bestows on the institution a charter of rights and privileges, the State gives the institution an independent existence, with liberties which cannot be revoked unless the provisions of the charter or the laws of the State are violated. There is an incongruity between the full idea of a State institution and the possession by it of a charter. The West Point Military Academy is, in the full sense of the phrase, a government institution. But the Western Railroad Corporation is not a State institution, though the State gave it being, owns a portion of its stock, is a large creditor of it, is pecuniarily bound for it, and has power to appoint some of its directors. There may be an entire dependence of a public institution upon the State, and there may be various degrees of independence, though, of course, no public institution can have an absolute independence of the State. That any institution may enjoy a complete independence, it must be a private, not a public institution. Thus, our churches are private, not public, institutions.

Now how far, and in what sense, is Harvard College a State institution ? The Colony of Massachusetts, in 1636, founded a school or college at Cambridge. The Colony, the Province, and the State have, successively, been always represented by the legislative and executive authorities, in the oversight of the College, as the charters given to it by

the government have reserved to these authorities a share in the right of approving or rejecting all elections and measures originated by the Corporation of the College. This right of the public authorities extends to the confirmation of the choice by which the Corporation fills a vacancy in its own body of seven members. But the State functionaries divide their power to bind and loose with thirty elected members of the Board of Overseers, who are not of the State government. So far, then, the State yields its hold.

The Colony, Province, and State have made gifts of land and money to the College ; not so much, however, to the effect of endowing it with permanent funds, as to meet, from year to year, pressing emergencies. A glance at Mr. Eliot's list of benefactions will show how large a portion of the public grants was given for the annual salaries of the Presidents and Professors Wigglesworth, Winthrop, and Sewall. The whole amount of the permanent funds of Harvard College derived from public benefaction, including even the cost of two of the College buildings erected at the public expense, would not serve now for the erection and maintenance of the Boston Latin School. Of the sum bestowed for the original endowment of the College in its first two years, in money, goods, and books, the Colony gave two sevenths, and individuals gave five sevenths. During the next twelve years, while the Colony gave only the profits on the income of a ferry, and the rates of two wilderness towns for one or two years, individuals gave more than a thousand pounds. From that period down to the Revolutionary war, the public purse contributed forty-nine thousand dollars, and private generosity ninety thousand. Since the war, the State has given to the College about one hundred and seventy thousand dollars, while individuals have given more than eight hundred thousand in money, besides treasures in books, apparatus, specimens, and other gifts, whose cost cannot well be estimated. For the last twenty-four years, the College has not received a farthing from the State. It is to be observed, likewise, that the State has given to Williams and Amherst Colleges benefactions fully proportionate in value (considering length of time and local importance and influence) to those which it has bestowed upon Harvard. Yet, as the charters of Williams and Amherst do not reserve oversight to the State, they seem to escape from the category of State institutions.

Williams and Amherst Colleges are administered upon the most rigid sectarian principles, old New England Orthodoxy reigning in them triumphant. It may be freely acknowledged, that Unitarians hold the weight of influence at Harvard. But have they not come most honestly and righteously into the possession of their offices? Covert insinuations and the most gross slanders have found material, not yet exhausted, it would seem, in the legal succession of Unitarians, as pastors of Congregational churches, to these offices. But precluding such grounds of accusation as unworthy of honest and intelligent men of any profession, can one single word of reproach or censure be brought against the members of the Corporation and the Overseers of the College a generation ago, who, yielding to influences which had been long working, and in the exercise of an unfettered freedom, made, as they thought, an advance towards religious truth, and transmitted a trust that involved no sectarian pledge to those who they believed would sacredly discharge it?

Those who from time to time repeat the charge of unfair dealing against the government of the College are of course disposed to concentrate their rebukes upon the men through whose agency the College, about the beginning of this century, became, as the phrase goes, "a Unitarian institution." On this crisis in the College history we need say but a word. No usurpation, no stratagems, no cunning dealings, can be ascribed to the Liberal party in this matter. From the first appearance of two parties, a liberal and a rigid party, in matters of religion, in this Commonwealth, the College had uniformly been controlled by the liberal party. A very slow and gradual softening of religious sentiment had been going on for more than a century. No sectarian test whatever was involved or implied in the conditions of membership of either Board of the College government, saving only that the teaching elders of the *Congregational* churches of six neighbouring towns became, by right of office, Overseers of the College. All but one or two of these clergymen, with their societies, embraced what are called Liberal, that is, anti-Calvinistic, views of Christianity, though still retaining their Congregationalism. The same gradual change of views appeared among the members of the Corporation. Now were these men bound to resign their various offices in the churches and the College? If so, to whom should they resign them? What in honor or obligation hindered their retaining their

offices? It is said that these incumbents, or some of them, denied that they were Unitarians. To this we reply, that some of them still refuse to bear that name. The reason was, and is, that this is a party name, with associations which to some have always been unwelcome, and, when first used among us, it implied conditions to which many to whom it was in one sense applicable did not accede. When controversy waxed warm, the Liberal party resolved to maintain the position to which they had honorably attained, from an honest and reasonable conviction, that rights which they held sacred would be encroached upon, if abandoned to the other party.

The College, from the first day of its being to the present hour, has never been pledged or consecrated to any form of Christian theology. It was not even devoted so emphatically and exclusively to a religious design and purpose, as some of the objectors to its existing administration are wont to urge for purposes of their own. Good learning and literature shared with religion its baptismal titles. If it was intended for the academical education of youths who might become ministers, it was also and equally intended for the same preliminary education of physicians and lawyers. The prevailing custom, indeed, in New England, from its settlement down to our own times, was, for those who looked to the clerical profession, to pursue their studies with a settled parish minister. The motto now in use on the College seal, "*Christo et Ecclesiæ*," may seem to be a solemn and authoritative dedication of the institution to ecclesiastical purposes. But it appears from the records of the Corporation, that the only authorized motto of the College, according to the seal originally adopted, is the simple word "*Veritas*," — *Truth*, in all its sources, forms, and relations, — inscribed upon the pages and on the back of three opened volumes. Calvinism will find it difficult to establish a claim in perpetuity to the College from any deed of gift or form of consecration. We will not lay any stress on the facts, that the Library, containing all the books and apparatus belonging to the College, was burned in 1764, and that the funds were inextricably involved and ruinously damaged by Treasurer Hancock, and the war which has signalized him. These two facts do, indeed, indicate that a new College, with new funds and endowments, virtually replaced the former one with its scanty property. But as the former was free from

doctrinal pledges, it is of less consequence to take the ground that the renewed institution rose unpledged.

Admitting that the College is in some sense a State institution, we may still insist that it is also in some sense a free and independent institution, and that it was never pledged to Calvinism. Is it, then, made to subserve a cause antagonistic to Orthodoxy? Is it a partisan, a sectarian institution? The force of circumstances and the natural operation of irresistible influences may seem to impose this result upon Harvard College, though its officers and government have not aimed to bring it about, but rather to guard against it. The books on religious subjects used in the College are by Trinitarian authors, Paley and Butler. There never has been a period in which some of the offices of instruction and government were not held, as now, by Trinitarians. There always have been, and are now, Orthodox members in the permanent portion of the Board of Overseers, who are at perfect liberty to prefer complaints, if they see cause for them. Students, when under age, are allowed to attend a church of the same denomination as their parents; if they are of age, they may choose for themselves. The larger portion of those who receive the loan fund, given by Unitarians, are not of that communion. No machinery, no partialities, no methods or efforts of any kind, direct or indirect, are used for sectarian purposes in the College. They would at once be frowned down, if proposed from any quarter. So much about the College as a State or a sectarian institution.

What remains of the unfounded opinion and censure of the management of Harvard College by Unitarians is, that, by connecting with it a Unitarian Theological School, they do actually employ the means or the funds of the College for sectarian purposes. If this charge could be substantiated, it would indeed place in a singular attitude before our community those seven eminent and dignified men, the members of the Corporation, who have received too many expressions of confidence in their high integrity to need to have it disproved that they lack common honesty. To understand, however, the relation of these seven gentlemen to the Divinity School at Cambridge, we must consider that they act in five different agencies as trustees of funds. Their first and principal, and, till within the last half-century, their sole trusteeship, was that of the simple College funds, for academical purposes, the education and government of the under-

graduates during their four years' course of ante-professional study. Near the close of the last century, certain sums of money were intrusted to the Corporation for the benefit of medical students in connection with the College. This trust gave to the Corporation a second agency, distinct from their collegiate functions. Thirty years ago, a third trust was committed to the same body, in the form of funds for a Law School. While professional schools for two departments were thus gathering around the institution at Cambridge, and asking guidance from the same honored trustees, a third professional school and a fourth trust were added, by the bestowment of funds for a distinct Theological School, and every dollar of these last funds was given by Unitarians. In case the Divinity School should be separated, and moved elsewhere, the Corporation do not feel at liberty to surrender any of these funds, unless the donors have made specific provision for this contingency. Mr. Abbott Lawrence has lately made the Corporation the holders of a fifth trusteeship, by giving a munificent foundation for a Scientific School. The members of this body, therefore, act in five different capacities. It was competent for them to decline either of the four superadded trusts ; but if they accepted them, they were bound to carry out the purposes of the donors. The Mayor and Aldermen of Boston might also be made trustees of a Roman Catholic seminary in the heart of the city, or the Boston School-Committee, as such, might be constituted a missionary board. The Corporation of Harvard have accepted their five trusts. We regret, on many accounts, the connection of the Divinity School in this way with the College. But we are concerned now with the alleged perversion of the funds of a State institution to sectarian purposes. To meet this charge, we present the following complete list of all the funds ever given to Harvard College for theological purposes.

The Hollis fund, for the support of a Professor of Divinity, was for a long period the only theological portion of the College treasury. It might be a question whether any of it survived the financial wreck of the Revolution. But between four and five thousand dollars are now credited on the treasurer's books to that fund. This amount embraces the interest which has accumulated since the close of the services of the late Dr. Ware, Senior. Additions were made by various individuals to the original gift of Hollis, for the support

of a Divinity Professor, the last of which was that of five hundred dollars by the Hon. Jonathan Mason, a Unitarian. The Hancock Professorship of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages, having an original foundation of a thousand pounds, increased by subsequent donations, may be considered as falling within the theological department ; as also, perhaps, the bequest of Judge Dudley for the support of an annual lecture. All the other sums bestowed for theological purposes, as found on Mr. Eliot's list of benefactions, are now transcribed, with the date, the name of the donor, and the amount of each ; the donors being, without exception, Unitarians.

In 1811, Samuel Dexter gave	\$ 5,000.00
" 1815, Samuel Parkman gave	5,000.00
" 1817, Subscription for Theological School,	30,000.00
" 1817, Israel Thorndike gave	500.00
" 1820, Moses Brown "	2,000.00
" 1820, Thomas Cary "	3,600.00
" 1826, Another Subscription, for Theol. School,	19,322.23
" 1829, George Partridge gave	2,000 00
" 1829, Subscription to H. Ware, Jr.'s Professorship,	13,180.00
" 1834, George Chapman gave	1,261.42
" 1834, Eliphalet Porter "	1,000.00
" 1835, Sarah Jackson "	10,000.00
" 1835, William Pomroy "	1,000.00
" 1836, Hannah C. Andrews "	500.00
" 1836, Joshua Clapp "	1,000.00
" 1838, Timothy Walker "	1,000.00
" 1839, Joshua Clapp (again) "	1,000.00
" 1839, Mary Tufts "	500.00
" 1840, Francis Parkman "	5,000.00
" 1841, Henry Lienow "	3,808.00
" 1841, Society for Promoting Theol. Education gave	10,000.00
" 1846, Miss Kendall gave	2,000.00
" 1847, Abraham W. Fuller gave	1,000.00
Amounting to	<u>\$ 119,671.65</u>

To this should be added the sum which will revert to the Divinity School from Mr. Bussey's bequest, estimated at \$ 80,000 and legacies of John D. Williams and R. W. Bayley, recently deceased, amounting, probably, to \$ 20,000 or \$ 25,000. And these noble gifts of Unitarians for a liberal Christian education are the funds of a State institution, which are so grossly perverted at Cambridge ! One

would think that the generous donations which wealthy Unitarians, like the Lawrences and the late Israel Munson, have made to the Orthodox Colleges, Yale, Amherst, and Williams, might save their reputation in the honest employment of their means for a cause which they hold dear.

In view of the facts thus presented and vouched, what room is there for the reiterated and most ungenerous imputations which are cast upon the management of Harvard College? Let these *facts* be candidly met.

We have a few words more to add concerning the Theological School, as an institution in which we naturally feel a strong interest. We suppose that its friends must acquiesce, however reluctantly, in its continuance at Cambridge, and in its present connection with the College, so far as locality and dependence upon the same governors do connect it with the College; their only choice being between such a continuance, and a removal, with the loss of a valuable building and funds. Into a discussion of the arguments for and against a removal from Cambridge, and an entire disconnection of the School from the College, we cannot here enter. We take for granted the continuance of the present connection, and we would earnestly call upon all the friends of the School to unite their endeavours and gifts, as well as their sincere prayers, to insure its full prosperity.

The language of complaint has recently found among ourselves free, and almost reckless, expression about the condition and management of the Divinity School. The Corporation have been accused of great indifference towards it, while they exhibit much zeal for the other departments of the University. Whatever appearance of indifference there may have been, should we not at once remind ourselves that the characters and the somewhat delicate position of the members of the Corporation are a sufficient guaranty that there is only an apparent ground for such a charge? Let them have the means of advancing the School, let funds be put at their disposal by the establishment of professorships, lectureships, or scholarships, and then let us wait the result. The Corporation is blameless in this matter.

The qualifications of the present professors have been canvassed in a way to show that they must certainly have some Christian resources in the grace with which they have borne such criticism, and the perseverance which encourages them to make a practical improvement of it. They are overtasked,

and they have had their own burdens. That all their energies are engaged in their work, no one who knows them can doubt. If they lack some of the gifts which God bestows, they are not on that account subjects of censure from man. That there have been recent graduates of the School who have adopted sentiments which some think crude and false and dangerous, and have approved of novelties subversive of established usage, is undeniable. This fact, in the regret for which we own that we largely share, has cooled the attachment of a portion of the most earnest friends of the School, and has led them to ask if such students have been under the most propitious influences to train them for effective ministers of the Christian revelation. But that, in this age of bold thought, and in an institution free from any attempt to impose opinion upon the minds of its pupils, strange views should be adopted by young men, need excite no surprise nor special fear. Nor have all such pupils been under the care of the present professors. And what more can be claimed of an instructor, than that, under the rule of his own conscience, he do his utmost?

It is often said, that we want a man for a theological instructor who will leave the impression of his own power and genius and fervor on the minds and hearts of his pupils. Of course, there is truth and justice in this wish. But it may become an exaggerated demand, and may meet with an equivocal fulfilment. If we are to look for great results from the personal peculiarities of a Divinity professor, we must be prepared to have them work in ways which we might not always approve. Would it not be better to rely chiefly upon the subjection of the pupils to the influences of truth, and to the duty of searching out truth, apart from the personal characteristics or the supposed views of the teacher?

Again, it is said that the School is not attractive to the young men; that it needs life, numbers, and the full means of theological education. But it is for the students to show and to impart life. Nothing will so rouse a teacher as an earnest pupil. A young man who earnestly wishes a theological education, and has wits of his own, with faith and zeal, can obtain it from the two professors at Cambridge, or from either one of them. If it could ever be had from a country minister, with the helps of village gossip and the musty book-shelf, why not now, and better, at Cambridge?

Another ground of complaint is, that so few of the Cam-

bridge graduates enter the School, — that its pupils are from other colleges, or, more frequently, from no college, — and that most of them for the last two or three years have lacked a thorough academic training. But have not some who now utter this complaint done much towards bringing about the occasion for it? If we are not greatly mistaken, we have read and heard of late years some appeals for seeking out, in farms and workshops and warehouses and counting-rooms, promising, though uneducated, young men, to be sent into the ministry, through the School, or even without its help. They who have extended such invitations certainly ought not to complain, if they are understood in a large sense, and so accepted. As to the common remark, that a college degree is not important to one who has all other qualifications for the ministry, it is enough to say, that one who has all other qualifications will never stand in need of an apology for lacking a college degree. We care not how many graduates come to the School from other colleges; the more, the better. We should even be in favor of a bounty on them. As to the regret, that so few graduates from Cambridge, or elsewhere, now enter upon preparation for our ministry, we can only say, that, after partaking of the regret, we have satisfied ourselves that the Cambridge School is not singular in this respect, — that the ministry receives of educated men its full proportion among the occupations which society now offers to them, and that the supply of numbers, if not of talent, equals the demand. We should remember the changed relations and circumstances of the Christian ministry, and of society in general. Once, ministers were the only instructors of the people here; now, they share the task and honor with many laymen. Once, the ministry was here the only field for moral and intellectual influence; now, such influence can be exerted in many other ways, while rich and effective talents receive more of the world's rewards in some other fields. Once, the ministry was comparatively a peaceful profession; now, it is vexed with all sorts of harassing anxieties. Once, the profession supported the minister, if he had succeeded in getting an entrance into it, and where he had spent the dew of his youth, there he tottered in age upon the arm of a colleague, and there his dust was joined in burial with that of his flock. The same parish gave him his bridal gifts and built his monument. Now, — but it is not necessary to complete the contrast.

With these brief suggestions in reference to the various complaints and discouragements which just at this time are visited upon the Theological School, we conclude our remarks. We hope and believe that the murmur and the gloom are only for a moment. Let zeal and hope and generosity bend their forces, and the School will prosper, and our churches enjoy its fruits.

G. E. E.

ART. III. — CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE.

[Translation of a "Letter to M. Guizot, Member of the Consistory of the Reformed Church of Paris, upon his Article in the *Revue Française*, entitled, 'Of Catholicism, of Protestantism, and of Philosophy in France.' By ATHANASE COQUEREL." Paris. 1838.]

THE name of the Rev. Mr. Coquerel has become familiar to our readers,* within the course of the last two or three years, as that of the most eminent Protestant preacher of the liberal school in Paris, and recently, as a member of the General Assembly now engaged in forming a constitution for France. The Letter of which we now give a translation was written ten years ago, but the relations of the question which it discusses have been very little changed by the events of the last six months, and the principles which constitute the basis of its reasoning have the same force now as at the time of its publication. With the growth of the Catholic Church in our own country, these principles and the deductions to which they lead lose their exclusively foreign value. We have therefore thought that our readers who are interested either in the religious condition of France or in the prospects of Christianity in the United States, or who might desire to become acquainted with M. Coquerel's literary merits, would be glad to see the pamphlet in an English dress. — Eds.

SIR, —

When your voice is heard in the intervals of office, or breaking the silence of the national tribune, your friends think

* The last work of M. Coquerel (*Le Christianisme Experimental*), of which we gave an account in our number for January, 1848, has been translated into English, and published in London, under the title of "Christianity: its Perfect Adaptation to the Mental, Moral, and Spiritual Nature of Man. By Athanase Coquerel, etc. Translated by Rev. D. Davison, M. A. With a Preface, written expressly for the English Edition, by the Author."

that you still govern France ; and as this is the case, you will not be surprised to meet with some opposition.

I hesitated a long time before writing these pages ; I hesitated before giving them to the press. The anxiety attending a difficult task, the danger even of appearing to yield to a feeling of vanity in placing my name by the side of yours, was not what arrested me. In publishing those lines in which clearness of style and well-connected thought show a hand accustomed to trace the laws of a nation, you acted according to the dictates of your conscience. I obey mine in attempting to refute your reasoning, and conscience fears nothing, — not even talents and a position like yours.

My hesitation proceeded from another and more serious cause. I feared that the minister of God might be accused of meddling with politics, and that it might be thought that I was seeking to impede the views of a statesman, when all I wished, all I hoped, was to refute that statesman's religious opinions.

But on perusing again, and with the greatest attention, your last work, it seemed to me evident that it concerned religion more than politics. The attention of France has followed you from the chair of the Professor of History to the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies and to the ministerial bench. I am strangely mistaken, if it was not rather the Protestant than the professor, the deputy, or the minister, who was listened to, when he assigned to French Catholicism its place in France, and its fate in future times. As a member of the Consistory of the Reformed Church of our country, it seems natural that your opinions on this grave subject should be taken as those of Protestants generally, and should represent us faithfully to our Catholic fellow-citizens. I thought that this consideration was sufficient to authorize me to attempt their refutation. I concur most fully with your frank and noble declaration, that " the time has come when it is proper on such subjects to come to facts, and to lay aside those general terms which elude the questions they seem to propose."

Your article in the *Revue Française* treats of Catholicism, Protestantism, and Philosophy in France. It is not my intention to speak here of Philosophy. Let her defend herself. I shall confine myself to what concerns the two forms of religion. Your system may be resolved into the following ideas.

It is indispensable that Catholicism, Protestantism, and

Philosophy should live in peace with each other, in the bosom of French nationality, and accept, without reserve, the position in which France has placed herself by the Revolution and the Charter of 1830. The only means of attaining this peace is, that the two forms of religion, and Catholicism particularly, should confine themselves to religious life, not meddle in secular affairs ; govern spiritual matters only, and not disturb the temporal power and free examination, when exercised in their own sphere. This harmony between the two religions and the constitution of the state is the more necessary, because “ France will not become Protestant ” and “ Protestantism will not perish in France.”

I hasten to say frankly, that I reject this means of peace as impracticable, and that I can adopt but one half of your prophecy.

To what Catholicism does what you say refer ? Not to that bastard and enervated Catholicism satisfied with every thing, willing to make retreat after retreat, and vanishing at last in smoke, at an equal distance from Geneva and from Rome ; nor to that Catholicism unworthy of the name which it dared to assume, represented by the Borgias in Italy and by Cardinal Dubois in France, and in whose eyes the bark of St. Peter was precious only because of the nets which swallowed up benefits and prebends. No, — you have yourself said it, — you speak of that ancient and venerable Catholicism which reposes entirely on the doctrine of authority or infallibility. This is, indeed, its special character ; the device of all its defensive and offensive armour. This it is which distinguishes it so essentially from Protestantism. There is but one Bible in Christendom, notwithstanding the dissensions of Christians ; the two great Christian Communions recognize the same sacred book as the source of certitude and the product of inspiration. Therefore the forms of worship, the number of the sacraments, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and discipline, even the most precise dogmas, such as the Lord’s Supper, a simple memorial, and the Mass, an expiatory sacrifice, are only different interpretations of the same text, which both parties consider sacred. But the difference which is most conspicuous amid all these comparatively secondary quarrels is, that, according to Catholicism, an infallible authority preserves from age to age, and dispenses at its pleasure, Christian truth ; whereas, according to Protestantism, the Bible, as the purest and most abundant

source of religious truth, is confided to reason, sovereign in its own cause. In other words, in Catholicism, the Church thinks for all; in Protestantism, every one thinks for himself. The inevitable consequence is, that the Romish Church leans towards unity, and is obliged to maintain it, at least in appearance, while Protestantism is Christianity individualized, and leaves every Christian at liberty to extract his religious belief from the Gospel, and freely to choose the church to which he will belong.

Where is the infallibility, the authority, of the Church of Rome to be found? You set aside this question as foreign to the debate, and thus allow a sort of uncertainty to rest on the whole subject. This appears to me the first obstacle to that peace which you desire to conclude. That is indeed a singular authority, the seat of which is uncertain, though it seems without limits! There exists, then, among men a divine and legitimate sovereignty over the moral and religious world, and yet men do not know where this sovereignty is to be found, and seek for it by turns in a council, in the Pope, or in the union of both! No one can say who is empowered by Catholicism to draw up the preliminaries of this treaty of peace, this truce of God, which you propose to her with so much confidence. Is this not in itself a great obstacle to the exchange of the ratifications? Does not a tacit consent resemble an armistice rather than an alliance? I feel, I confess, a lively wish, — were it but to put an end to this uncertainty, — that another general council, or one calling itself such, might be held, which would place in the hands of the sovereign pontiff the sceptre of infallibility, or lay it before his throne as the mace of the Christian parliament. Then, at least, we should know to whom to address ourselves, and the treaties of peace between Catholicism and the state might have their plenipotentiaries.

However mysterious may be the recesses where it is hidden, “a power invested, as respects faith and salvation, with the character of infallibility, — such is the government of the Catholic Church.” I have reserved this excellent definition in order to quote it here, and I deduce from it the necessary consequence, that a power animated by this pretension cannot consent to any sort of concession; if it yields on one point, it yields on all; it abdicates, if it makes any compromise; it belies itself, it saps its own foundations, and if it recedes but a step, it is lost! The idea of infallibility precludes that

of retractation. Infallibility is every thing or nothing ; and that power which declares itself to be infallible, far from yielding, must ever hold an anathema over the heads of those who reason as to its decrees, and demand only that one believe and adore. There is not in history an example of a Papal amnesty. Therefore, in this discussion, it will always be proper to employ that terrible word, "infallibility," and to employ it unmindful of repetition. It is the only word which expresses all that it should. The Protestant Church recognizes "authority" in this sense, that the Universities of Cambridge, Leyden, Göttingen, and Geneva, when consulted as to the famous text of the "three witnesses" (1 John v. 7), will answer unanimously, that the disciple whom "the Saviour loved" never wrote those lines, and this answer, to every enlightened mind, will be a high and respectable authority. The Catholic Church, in declaring itself infallible, places itself as far from simple authority as the infinite is from the finite. It does not ask for confidence, but for submission, and does not consider itself satisfied, unless human reason abdicates in favor of its infallibility.

It seems difficult to agree, in the interest of social peace, with an infallible power, which yet cannot say where that infallibility resides ; and difficult to treat with it, because infallibility at once stifles every hope of conciliation. A third obstacle to this good intelligence between Catholicism and all that is not Catholicism is, that no one, at least in France, knows positively and certainly where to seek for the expression of its infallibility. Before the preliminaries of this pacification, it would be necessary to know if the Catholicism which, according to your ideas, may be easily reconciled to the present institutions of France, is the Catholicism of the Council of Trent. This council, tacitly admitted as to dogma, has always been rejected in France as to discipline. To give to the discussion between the two powers due precision, one must begin with examining, article by article, where discipline ends and where dogma begins. This is not all. The government and the Parliament of our country never consented to receive the decisions of the Council of Trent, but the Pope and the clergy never ceased requiring that they should be received. It seems, therefore, natural that we should place ourselves on this ground, and that, in our reasoning, we should consider the decrees of the Council of Trent as the only official expression of true Catholicism. If

it is not to be found there, we would ask where we are to look for it. It would, indeed, be strange, if Catholic infallibility, invisible as it is in its focus, should likewise be invisible in its emanations.*

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the Concordat and the organic laws of 1802 cannot be considered as the real subjects of discussion. Your article was not intended to prove that the Concordat was in harmony with our institutions, but that Catholicism could live at peace with them. It is therefore of the spirit of the Catholic religion, and not of purely organic regulations, — which leave doctrinal points untouched, presuppose without defining them, — that we are to speak.

Having established these premises, — and I do not see how they can well be contradicted, — let us see on what basis you found your hope of peace between Catholicism and modern society.

“Let us suppose,” you say, “the two principles, the separation of the spiritual and temporal, the separation of the civil and religious state, to be sincerely and entirely accepted, respected, and practised by both church and state; whence could come any conflict? The Catholic Church would retain her infallibility in the religious sphere, that is, in the relations of spiritual power to the faithful. The state would retain liberty of conscience and thought in the social sphere, that is, in the relations of temporal power to the citizens. Both would advance in a parallel direction, without ever jostling each other.”

It is evident that this is supposing what has been in dispute for ages. What has so often occasioned the rupture of treaties of political peace is likewise wanting to this religious peace, — the settling of boundary lines. Have the exact limits between the temporal and the spiritual been traced? This would be the most useful, the most holy, of discoveries. I had always supposed that these limits were as vague, uncertain, and difficult to grasp, as the tie which unites soul and body, and that the eighteen centuries of the history of Chris-

* “Leibnitz objects, that this council is not received in France. This is true as regards some indifferent points of discipline, because on these the Church may vary. As to doctrines revealed by God and defined as such, they have never been changed, and in this respect the whole Council of Trent is unanimously received, as well in France as everywhere else.” — *Letter of Bossuet to Madame de Brinon.*

tianity proved that they had been sought in vain alike by solitary meditation and by social experiment. There has been found no line of separation between civil and religious life, and no neutral ground between them. There would be considerations of the highest philosophical importance to be weighed in connection with this subject. It would be, I think, easy to show, that, without having recourse to arbitrary conventions, it is impossible to distinguish between the temporal and the spiritual; because man is one,—he does not live two lives; he is placed at once in the world of spirits and the world of bodies; at every instant, at every step, at every thought, the two elements of his nature are mingled as the threads of the woof; there are two threads, there is but one tissue. If we review the principal stages of our sojourn in this world,—birth, education, marriage, death, the tomb even,—there is not one of these developments of our being which is not at once temporal and spiritual, earthly and celestial, civil and religious; and I seek in vain to discover how it is possible to separate, according to your ideas, the interests, the duties, and the rights of the citizen and of the Christian. No! The Church opens on the world. That there are in life concerns in their nature more civil than religious, or more religious than civil, is self-evident. At the two extremities, so to speak, of the domains of the temporal and the spiritual, the colors are better defined. The Church has sanctuaries so silent and so retired that the tumult of the world is scarcely heard there, and the world sometimes is so far from the Church that it loses sight of its threshold. Meantime, our twofold interest, as mortal and immortal beings, is ever in play; and if on this earth, where the physical and the moral are so closely connected, there exists any infallibility—either individual or collective—in human form, it is evident that to that infallibility belongs the sovereignty of the world. Hildebrand was right in aspiring to become the autocrat of mankind. Alexander VI. was right in tracing a meridian to regulate the discoveries in the New World. Kings are inexcusable in not resigning at once their power into the hands of the Pope; and Chambers of Deputies and of Peers have nothing better to do than to transform themselves into assemblages for registering submissively decretals and bulls.*

* The *Apostolical Constitutions* assert the principle, that “the spiritual power is as much superior to the temporal as heaven is superior to earth, soul to body, or spirit to matter.” If the spiritual power is infallible, the

Such is the intimate, inevitable, and never-ceasing connection between what belongs to society and to religion, that a conflict may arise at any time, notwithstanding your hopes, unless Catholicism should have nothing to lose by concluding peace — by yielding to the impulse given by the age. Take Catholicism wherever you like, in the decrees of the Council of Trent, in Bellarmin or Bossuet, in the catechisms of the different dioceses of France or in the discourses of the curate of the most humble village, it strikes me that it cannot, without belying itself, without placing itself beneath the weight of its own anathemas, consent to the modern organization of society. I do not conceal from myself how serious is this assertion, but I do not think it should alarm either the friends of religion or the friends of our country. I shall speak presently of the reasons I see for feeling no apprehension. But it is first necessary to consider, in its details, the antipathy which exists between Catholicism and our social organization. Examples are not wanting. The Council of Trent — the acceptance of which was demanded by the Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1567, by the Bishops of the States at Blois, 1576, by all the clerical assemblies at the end of the sixteenth and at the commencement of the following century — was so little in accordance with the liberties and franchises of the nation at that period, that in the Assembly of the States of the League, in 1593, two members of the Parliament were intrusted with the examination of the decrees of the Council, and their acceptance was for a time suspended, lest the rights of the kingdom should be invaded by them. I ask again, Is the Catholicism of the Council of Trent, which every prelate, rector, and doctor is obliged to receive, — is it, or not, true Catholicism? If the Roman clergy answer in the affirmative, who can believe that the principles which startled the *liberalism* of the Leaguers of 1593 can serve as articles of peace at the present day? It is curious to look over, in De Thou, or in the appendix of Le Courayer's translation of Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, the long list of articles which alarmed the followers of the Guises, and to compare them with the articles of the Charter of July or those of the Civil Code. Our laws on marriage do not recognize the Catholic rules as to degrees of relationship, nor forbid the celebration of marriages at certain periods

Apostolical Constitutions, whatever date or author we may assign to them, are right. See the very curious work of Pierre du Moulin, *Du Juge des Controverses*, etc.

of the year. Our laws relating to sepulture regard the soil of the cemetery as ordinary earth under the care of a municipal authority ; the Church regards it as holy ground, of which the priesthood is to take charge. If you endeavour to make these laws of the state harmonize with Catholicism, you necessarily substitute purely Catholic laws for French laws ; if these, on the other hand, are maintained, the Catholic faith and power evidently suffer by it. In either case, where do you find a just equilibrium, harmony, or peace ? The law which you have given to France, the law which bears your name, — on which side will you place it ? in political, or in religious life ? Do those schools which France commits to you, and which, thanks to your energy and talent, were opened notwithstanding the tumult of civil discord, belong to the spiritual or temporal domain ? If to the first, I should think that Catholicism would never cease claiming them ; if to the second, it will tell you, that, in drawing up the first article of that law which requires a moral and religious education, it was forgotten that there can be but one such, — that of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish Church. And, confident in the hope which animates you of a lasting good understanding between the civil and religious state, have you forgotten that the Pope, in his bull of June 25, 1834, condemns “ unlimited liberty of opinion and speech in matters of conscience ” ? I confess, I do not see how this condemnation can be made to agree with the fifth article of the Charter, nor even with parliamentary independence. Is it necessary to add, that, in the eyes of every good Catholic and every faithful priest, the liberty of the press is incompatible with the existence in the Vatican of a Congregation of the Index, the committee of censorship for the whole Christian world ? It must be acknowledged that the National Assembly of 1789 is a strange and troublesome offset to the Council of Trent.

You grant that “ the two principles would war with each other, if they met in the same sphere.” But do they not meet in all the examples I have given ? How can Catholicism quietly submit to be excluded from the discussions in which birth, education, marriage, death, the rights of the conscience, of the press, and of speech, are deliberated on ?

You say, however, “ that, when the Church, many centuries since, demanded so loudly and so steadily that a distinction should be made between the spiritual and the temporal, it acted in the interest of its own dignity and in order to found

its own liberty." This is true, if we accept the definition of Locke, — Liberty is power. "The Church did yet more," you say; "it maintained the dignity of man and liberty of conscience." Until now I had thought that I had found in history the contrary of these assertions; I had thought that the Guelphs and the Ghibellines cared but little for the maintenance of human dignity, and that, when the Church demanded the separation of the spiritual from the temporal, she was struggling against the encroachments of the feudal system, and defending with all her force her own feudality, — that is to say, her immunities, her jurisdictions, her right of precedence, — and used excommunication as a means of defending her prerogatives. At all events, if the Church laid the foundations of liberty of conscience, in this struggle, she did it unintentionally and without being aware of it, so that we are dispensed from all obligation of gratitude. In this respect she acted probably very much as in building her monasteries; she thought little of the industry which has now converted them into manufactories.

The principal dogma of the Catholic Church, the "real presence," is irreconcilable with a legislation that has no religious character. Introduce this dogma into our laws, and then surround the consecrated host, the ciborium which contains it, the tabernacle in which the ciborium is inclosed, the altar on which the tabernacle is displayed to the public eye, the church itself, with all the protection which public force can afford; place all this sanctity under a national safeguard, — and threaten all who profane it with the severest penalties; without this protection, the Catholic will say that your legislation is impious. "What!" — he will exclaim, if he speaks according to his faith, — "Jesus Christ is there in that sacrament, which contains his body, his blood, his divinity; beneath that bread transformed, the priest sees God; He is there, under that glittering metal, that carved wood, those veils, those flowers and lights, and society does nothing for him, does not even appear to remember him, and the law does not raise its arm to defend him. There are laws for all excepting for God, and according to the code, the sanctuary inhabited by God is an uninhabited spot!"

Is it not evident that Catholicism cannot without regret and force acquiesce in a legislation which thus rigorously sets God aside? Enter a Protestant church, and the minister will say, "Obedience and honor to the law! Our God needs not man

to defend him. Our faith is never at war with social institutions, because we worship only in spirit and in truth ; because the reign of our Master is not of this world ; because we cannot say, It is here, or It is there ; because all we have to ask from the legislator is liberty. If we have liberty, we want nothing more."

I have shown that this discussion cannot be confined within the limits of the Concordat, which is not Catholicism, but merely the political organization of the Catholic Church in France. But even this organization shows how incompatible is the Church with our institutions. The fifty-second article of the Organic Laws declares, that "they [the curates] shall not be allowed in their instructions to make any direct or indirect accusation either against persons or against the other forms of religion tolerated by the state." This article was destined to fall into disuse, but it seems to me that the authors of the Organic Laws of 1802 counted little on that harmony you hope for between the Church which anathematizes all heresy, and the state, which, in order to protect heretics, determined to place them under the safeguard of silence.

All these examples acquire increased importance, if we constantly bear in mind, that, in a church which is founded on the principle of infallibility, every question is a question of vital importance. Birth, education, even marriage, death, and the grave, as viewed by Catholics, are regulated by the principle, *No salvation out of the Church*. These words, which have been so often heard, are now listened to reluctantly. The Holy See, nevertheless, regards them as of the highest importance. I will give but one example, and that taken from modern Catholicism. Allow me to remind you of a Papal bull addressed to the bishops of Bavaria, dated May 27th, 1832, in which I find the following passage : —

"You are aware, my venerable brethren, with what energy, with what constancy, our fathers labored to inculcate that article of faith, which modern innovators dare to deny, — the necessity of the Catholic faith and unity to salvation. This was taught by one of the most celebrated disciples of the Apostles, St. Ignatius the Martyr, in his epistle to the Philadelphians. 'Do not deceive yourselves,' he says ; 'he who adheres to the author of a schism will not obtain the kingdom of God.' St. Augustine and the other bishops of Africa, when assembled, in the year 412, at the Council of Cirta, expressed themselves as follows on this

subject : — ‘ Whosoever is out of the pale of the Catholic Church, however praiseworthy his conduct may otherwise appear to her, will not see eternal life, and the anger of God will be upon him, because of the crime which he commits in living separate from Jesus Christ.’ And without repeating here the almost innumerable declarations of the other ancient fathers, we will only quote that of our venerable predecessor, Gregory the Great, who expressly says that such is the doctrine of the Catholic Church. ‘ The Holy Church Universal,’ says he, ‘ teaches that God can only be truly worshipped in its bosom, and affirms that those who are separated from her shall not be saved.’ It has likewise been declared by another of our predecessors, Innocent III., in concert with the Fourth General Council of the Lateran, that ‘ there is but one Church universal, out of which no one can be saved.’ ”

It is true that the Abbé Frayssinous, in his conferences at the St. Sulpice, has attempted to soften these menaces of eternal damnation. But without consulting the Bishop of Hermopolis, we may find Catholicism in its official monuments. On the subject of Catholic dogmas I believe the head of the Church, him of whom Rome says, when he uplifts the host, — “ *Sanctissimus sanctissimum fert !* ” It is therefore manifest, from the last decisions on this subject which have emanated from the Holy See, that, faithful to its principle of infallibility, — a principle which does not admit of any mitigation, — Catholicism sees hell beyond the limits of its Church. It seems to me, therefore, that it ought, if merely from charity, to consider as an impious and unworthy obstacle every power, every charter, every civil law, which impedes its action and fetters its proselytism at the birth of a child, or even before it, at the hour of death, or even after it. What is a constitution or a dynasty, what the liberty of the press, universities, academies, and schools, what “ police ” regulations of cemeteries, in comparison with the eternal salvation of a soul ? Let us first recognize the police of heaven and hell, of which the Church has charge ; ours can only come afterwards.

These views justify the feelings which animate me in writing to you. If it is in the very nature of Catholicism to absorb civil legislation, if the entire subjection of political to religious institutions can alone satisfy a church which requires the complete subserviency of reason to infallibility, it is lulling our country into a dangerous security to propose a solid peace, founded on a sort of *surveillance* of the priest in

the church and of the magistrate in the city. Your voice is so powerful, when you speak to reassure France and to promise her harmony between the two powers, that it was an imperative duty for you to give the alarm, and to remind her that the anathemas pronounced by the fathers at the Council of Trent, amidst the acclamations of their twenty-fifth and last sitting, still have an echo.

But how, then, can peace be maintained between the religious and the political sphere, since it is unavoidable that there should be continual intercourse between them? The answer to this query seems to me extremely simple. On the part of Catholicism, it can never be any thing more than a forced peace; this peace must, therefore, be insisted on. We must never forget that Rome never lost any thing without its being taken from her. Intolerance must be used to oppose intolerance, for that is the only way of meeting it; the civil power must be the stronger, and who can doubt that in our day society is stronger than the Romish Church? Who can doubt that the Chambers may effect what was so often done by the Parliaments? Who can doubt that the Charter weighs more in the French balance than circulars or briefs? Permit me, on so serious a matter, to examine fully and frankly the thoughts that present themselves. It is my profound conviction that France, with the immense resources she possesses, the development of which astonishes the world, with her regal, parliamentary, democratic, or even anarchical power, — if one chose to employ anarchy as a lever, — would be too feeble to destroy Catholicism by persecution. It has already been tried. During the Reign of Terror, innumerable scaffolds were in vain raised against the clergy. The overthrow of revolutionary intolerance should not astonish us. Persecution ends either in the final destruction or in the triumph of a religion. It destroys a religion when the executioners are more numerous than the believers, as was the case in the time of the Reformation in Italy and Spain.* It causes a religion to triumph when the victims are sufficiently numerous to weary the executioners, judges, and informers, as was the case with Protestantism in France during the reigns of Francis I. and Louis XIV., and with Catholicism during the Reign of Terror. But I also believe that France will always be powerful enough to resist the en-

* See T. Maccrie's *History of the Rise and Fall of Reformation in Italy*.

croachments of Catholicism, and that is sufficient. Our legislation will not then be atheistical, but secular. The means by which this peace — so necessary, and which becomes more and more necessary every day — may be obtained is not, in my opinion, the impossible separation between civil and religious life, the impossible sequestration of the powers of one and the other in their respective spheres, but simply the national will.

I do not mean, by these words, to advocate an appeal to force. God forbid ! I am convinced that public reason, justice, and moderation will suffice. It is not intended to weaken Catholicism, only to disarm it ; and why should we leave it armed, if we are sure that it has no longer any enemies ? The national will can never find it necessary to have recourse to violence ; the weak alone have an interest in being violent. The power of the country has but to display itself, to speak, and to will, and it must be irresistible. Catholicism will then wish what it cannot prevent. It never wishes for any thing more, and, thanks to the intimate connection between the temporal and the spiritual, the more peace there is, the more liberty there will be on both sides. The situation of the Romish clergy will be better and more clearly defined. They will know exactly what they can and may do, and to all those who reproach them with not doing enough they may conscientiously reply, that they can do nothing more. It is this conviction which it is so essential to bring to their minds. I should wish, therefore, that Catholicism should encounter no obstacles but those institutions which France cannot deny herself at the instigation of Rome, and those principles which modern France cannot allow to be violated. Let Catholicism open its schools ; but, as these schools are established on French soil, and not in the States of the Church, the children who frequent them must be taught the principal articles of the Charter. I would not demand of the friar who keeps the school to comment upon or to express his admiration for them, but I would dismiss him if he said aught against them. Even the question of recruiting the clergy seems to me easy according to these principles, and I would say to those who aspire to the clerical profession, — “ Be, with regard to the Church, pupils of the schools of the friars, disciples of the seminaries, deacons and subdeacons ; but with regard to the state, you must be bachelors, licentiates, or doctors of the University.” Does one preclude the other ? Certainly not.

As civil and religious life constantly meet, notwithstanding the differences which exist between them, there must be a double guaranty, — that of the Seminary for the Pope, that of the University for the government and the country. This system seems to me the only system of peace which can exist between Catholicism and the France of 1789 and 1830. I believe that by such an order of things religion and public morality would both gain ; religion, because no one would incur the risk of acting against his faith, since every act of piety would necessarily be free, and there would be nothing either to lose or to gain by the accomplishment of a religious duty ; morality, because the duties of mere political propriety would not usurp the place of real duties. The fact of the procession of the Holy Sacrament is the most popular and most easily understood. I take it as a final example.

From every tribune and every pulpit, from voices the most grave, whether of ecclesiastic or of layman, the Frenchman of the present day constantly hears that the springs of society are exhausted and broken ; that respect for all things is at an end ; that one respects no power, not even that which he has chosen, — no worship, not even that which he will not abjure, — no tribunal, not even that which he may to-morrow himself occupy. Nor is there any self-respect. Every one is willing to yield his opinions, if by so doing he can advance his interests. When shall we behold more consistency, firmness, and sincerity of conviction ? When will our elegant hypocrisy lay aside her mask ? Is it not time, that, in politics, religion, and philosophy, we should consent to appear as we really are ? — This is the language which the Frenchman hears on all sides, and yet, let him be Protestant, Jew, deist, philosopher, or infidel, he is liable, in some parts of the country, to receive orders to render military honors to the Host ! A religious act which forms part of the watchword that sentinels whisper in each other's ear, and which cannot be abstained from without incurring the penalty of the law, must seem to every sincere conscience a blasphemy, and one of the most efficient measures by which to accustom a people to look lightly upon the religion that regards sentinels as believers, and the morality that changes when the black suit is laid aside, and the uniform put on. What must ensue ? Individuals must necessarily become accustomed to treat all cases where conscience is concerned as they are treated by society, — not to attach more importance to them,

—and to act with as little scruple in promoting their own interest as society demands of them when acting in reference to hers. Now, were the legislation of the country secular, the functionary would say to the state, “I am not a Catholic”; and the priest would say to Rome, “France demands this liberty, and is mistress at home.”

It is therefore in vain that you wish the state and the Church to acknowledge their mutual incompetence. The state might acknowledge it with regard to the affairs of the Church, but the Church, which is infallible, never has and never would acknowledge it with regard to the state. The nature of the case, and the force of principles, make it impossible for it to be otherwise. You yourself furnish me with an indirect argument, which belies your hopes and justifies my fears. “Certainly,” you say, “setting aside all faith and all law, the vital principle of Catholicism, the religious infallibility of the Church, and the vital principle of our civil society, liberty of conscience and of thought, have a claim to the respect, the one, of the boldest thinkers, the other, of the most pious and austere souls.” This is one of the most profoundly Protestant assertions that ever came from your pen, and I fully adhere to it. Yes : when I set my own faith aside, the Catholic faith calls forth all my admiration, both as a masterpiece of logic, and as an instrument of civilization during the invasion of the barbarians and the chaos of the Middle Ages. But how can the disciple of a faith which rests on infallible authority ever set his faith aside? How can the Catholic leave the Church which he believes to be universal, and admire our civil institutions, which he must always regret not to find more in harmony with his faith? The Church of the Protestant is the Bible open before him, and when, in his belief, civil society is organized contrary to the principles of the Gospel, he says, “Society is wrong, and we must labor to enlighten it.” In the eyes of the Catholic, the Church is Rome; it is the Bible, explained by an infallible authority, that decrees faith, and therefore, when he finds society organized contrary to the spirit of his Church, he says, “This must not be borne. We must try to enlighten, to subjugate it. Let us extinguish this false light, and then show the true light as far as Rome will permit.”

The writings and the journey of a celebrated priest, “whose dreams of absolute independence and paroxysms of democratic

fever" you condemn with an eloquence equal to his own, confirm the foregoing arguments. This curious episode in modern Catholicism was caused only by the impossibility of exciting any real sympathy between pure Catholicism and the principles on which modern society rests. No one could be more competent than M. de la Mennais to secure a good understanding between these, yet we know what has been the result of his numerous attempts to effect this purpose. He returned from Rome a disappointed Catholic.* His system is a failure.

The disagreement between the Catholic principle and our own seems to me inevitable, and I am not surprised that it should be so. These two principles do not date from the same period. The one was manifested to the world as soon as Christ appeared; the other began with the power of the sovereign pontiffs. Yet the incompatibility between the principles of modern France and the Romish Church does not alarm me for the future. What makes me confident that this antipathy will not give rise to dangerous storms is the mildness of our manners, the progress of knowledge, the critical spirit of our literature, the vital strength of our liberties, the deep root which our civil code has taken in our country, the interest it has created, and the points of the political horizon to which our alliances necessarily tend.

I am reassured, too, by the revival of Catholic studies. It is certain that the inmates of the seminaries are no longer idle; they remain behindhand, but they can no longer lose sight of those they wish to direct, and when light pours in upon them from every side, they must take their share of it. The more learned Catholicism becomes, the less it is to be feared. There is always a little liberality in knowledge, and even, if I may so say, a little Protestantism.

I am reassured, also, by the old and just remark, that men never act up to their principles. There is no Christian, alas! as virtuous as the Gospel; but, fortunately, there is no

* M. de la Mennais, after having acquired, by his *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*, the reputation of being one of the most Catholic writers of the age, became, after the Revolution of 1830, one of the most active members of the Democratic party. He became one of the editors of a paper entitled *L'Avenir*. Having heard that this publication was disapproved of at Rome, he resolved to go thither and ascertain the views of the Pope on the subject. In a work entitled *Affaires de Rome*, he has given an account of this journey, from which he returned, as is said in the text, "a disappointed Catholic." Since then, he has published nothing on religious subjects. — Tr.

Catholic as Catholic as the Council of Trent. The passage from a dogma to an act has something humanizing in its effect. When one is alone, dogmatism may take the upperhand ; but when surrounded by other men, the heart belies the mind, and inclines even the most rigorous doctrine to pity. He who is an inquisitor in imagination when in his study, has not the courage to be intolerant when he has left it. Our country deserves that we should not become Ultramontane without some effort ; outside of the Church we find our country ; and it is fortunate, indeed, that the feelings of our heart are better than our logic, for it seems to me that the religious life, without the mitigation which our customs and our affections bring to the deductions of our intelligence, would not be endurable by those who believe that out of the pale of the Church there is no salvation.

Finally, I am reassured by the belief that Protestantism will not perish in France. In this I fully agree with you, but I cannot agree with you in the second part of your prediction, namely, that France will never be Protestant.

This assertion filled me with surprise. I ceased reading, as a traveller stops to ask himself if he has lost his way. Protestantism, said I to myself, is the only true expression of the Christian religion, — true as regards liberty. Before the Reformation, there existed in the world collective religions for the masses, but no personal religion, leaving every conscience, every faith, at liberty to ally itself to those with whom it could sympathize. This is an admirable feature of the Gospel. Protestantism is Christianity individualized. Protestantism is also faithful in its mode of worship ; we follow literally the example of Christ and the Apostles in the synagogues, the first temples of Christian worship. The celebrated passage of Justin Martyr on the forms of the primitive Church proves it. How, then, said I to myself, could a Protestant write a sentence which seems to consecrate all the future ages of France to error, — “ France will not become Protestant ” ?

After due reflection, it appeared to me that this thought expressed either that contempt for dogmas and outward forms which is now so common to some minds, or the conviction, that France will not adopt pure Christianity by means of a reform similar to that of the sixteenth century, and will become truly Christian without passing through Protestantism, that is to say, without protesting.

I should wander from the subject of this letter, if I attempted to decide whether the religious instinct of the human soul may indifferently follow any dogmatic direction and manifest itself externally under forms or symbols of its own choice. Would the moral effect, through life and death, be the same for masses as for individuals? Would the social progress be the same within a given time? I am far from believing it.

That the reformation of the sixteenth century will not recommence is evident, because it continues under our eyes in the only way possible in our age. The time of Luther has gone by for convents, as that of Henry VIII. for thrones, and of Calvin for republics. I should be sorry to see the great and little councils of the Swiss Cantons, the burgo-masters and the syndics of the cities of Holland or Germany, states-general and parliaments, deliberating on the propriety of prohibiting the celebration of mass or the opening of Protestant churches. Political bodies deciding religious questions by a majority is a thing possible only in an age in which there is no liberty, and would be an absurd anomaly in a free country. If it be true that Napoleon, at Rotterdam, said to some priests, "Do you not know, that, if I become a Protestant to-day, fifty millions of men will follow my example to-morrow?" it is fortunate for us that this rash remark was not converted into an imperial decree. It is more than probable that these mock Protestants would again have become Catholics, and our inveterate enemies. The age of religious revolutions is past, but, on the other hand, the age of religious progress has commenced, and, if I may venture to contradict your predictions, I will say, that I firmly believe France is destined to advance slowly, almost imperceptibly, not without error, but without any violent commotion, towards Protestantism, that is, towards Christianity freely sought for in revelation, and freely organized in the state. I believe that France is on the road towards the divine *dénouement* of the great drama of reform, and that, so far from receding, she will be constantly pursuing her onward course. I behold, on all sides, in the temporal and in the spiritual world, in the clergy and in the people, in the Catholic Church and in the Protestant Church, in science, literature, and philosophy, the visible marks of this great progress and the first dawn of the full light of truth. France will not be converted by others; she will work out her own

conversion ; she will acquire her religion as she has her liberties ; and it seems evident to me, from the manner in which she is gathering strength and preparing to pursue her path, that God will grant her both the means and the time.

The time, did I say ? You will understand that I mean to speak of ages, and that I do not count them.

Humanity has not yet achieved all her conquests ; neither has Protestantism. Therefore they can agree. But the reign of Catholicism is for ever past.

You will observe, that I say nothing of those of our brethren who, having refused obedience to the Council of Trent, offer it to the Synod of Dort, and who, convinced that neither Boniface, Gregory, nor Leo could divinely decree the Christian faith, would fain believe that the mission of Luther and Calvin was to stereotype it. As I do not think that the predestination of Dort — that pagan fatalism imported into Christianity — is better than the infallibility of the Council of Trent, and as I am the advocate of free examination, I cannot in any way return to a system founded on authority. I believe that the future is to be guided by liberty, as well in religious as in other matters, and I am satisfied that France will not take her Christian convictions from the canons of a council, or the confessions of faith of a synod.

I am aware, that, to the hopes which the tacit tendency of the nation towards our doctrines excites in my mind, you may oppose the return towards Catholicism of some persons, the very ultramontane tone of some writings, the frequency of communion and the crowded churches, and, lastly, the rather ambitious confidence of some members of the clergy. But we have spoken of centuries, and now we would bring the question within the limits of a few years ! Who does not perceive, that in the slight Catholic tendencies of the day we behold the inevitable consequence of the boundless favors lavished by the Restoration and the groundless fears inspired by the Revolution of July ? A clever woman said, during the Restoration, “ *On ne sert plus Dieu, on se sert de Dieu*, — God is no longer served, but is made to serve a purpose ” ; and to avoid the appearance of being courtiers, many abstained from going to church, because the church had become the vestibule of the palace. On the other hand, after the Revolution of July, many believed that France no longer desired her priests, because she no longer desired the Jesuits, and some in terror took refuge behind the altar. To be astonished at

this change of feeling is to do injustice both to the Church of France and to the Revolution of July.

Apart from these two legitimate motives for an increase of religious fervor, I cannot be deceived by this Catholicism of recent growth, which has neither depth, maturity, nor submission, yet is, I am told, about to inundate the country. I never converse with one of these Catholics of yesterday, without soon proving to him that he is a Protestant. Here, I find the Catholicism of the artist, who regrets that Luther did not protect the arts like Leo X., and build a Protestant Church of St. Peter, and exhibits the most vehement admiration for the demons and angels sculptured on the vessels containing the holy water, or the colored groups of a painted window; who believes in God, thanks to Gothic architecture, and in the Virgin, because there was a Raphael. To estimate the true value of this piety, it is but necessary to study the works of art, whether in architecture, sculpture, or painting, created in our time for religious purposes. Talent is frequently to be found in them, but religious feeling is altogether wanting; and we may say with truth that modern genius has raised but one grand monument to Catholicism, — the Madeleine, — and that is a heathen temple. There, we see an historical Catholicism, which has made a council of the *École des Chartes*,* and, by stirring the dust of old documents, has learned to cherish the Middle Ages, as does the miner the vein he explores, and fancies itself Catholic because it is well versed in the history of Catholicism as it was in the time of the Crusades. Elsewhere, we find metaphysical Catholicism, which defines the infallibility of the Holy See as the absolute of the intellect, and thinks thus to avoid our heresy; or, finally, political Catholicism, which persists in making religion a means of order, and declares that the police could act more efficiently, did Protestantism not exist in France. As for me, Sir, I seek in vain for Catholics who, after having read a brief summary of the doctrines of the Council of Trent, will say to me, "This is what I believe"; or, to require less than this, I seek in vain for Catholics who go to mass having a clear and minute comprehension of what is the sacrifice of the mass and the real

* This institution was founded by Louis XVIII., for the purpose of encouraging the study of the ancient manuscripts contained in the different libraries and *dépôts* of archives in France. — *Ta.*

presence, and believe in them ; I seek in vain for Catholics imbued with the belief that the Church is infallible, that out of the Church there is no salvation, that children who die without baptism are rejected by God, that plenary or other indulgences are a celestial pardon, that auricular confession and the celibacy of priests are indispensable to Christianity. All this is much more serious than the admiration of our cathedrals or splendid processions, or even of the statutes of an order of monks and the well-planned degrees of the Roman hierarchy. No one, if I mistake not, can be a Catholic without believing thus much ; and persons who have clearly arranged these doctrines in their minds, and who believe in them, not vaguely and without reflection, but with earnest sincerity, may occasionally be found, but are every day becoming more rare.

Thus is it in our cities ; and to those who may object that I judge from what I see in Paris, I must reply, Paris at present is the France of the future. Our whole history proves it, from the time our national unity became established, from the time Richelieu broke down the territorial aristocracy. But still, on close examination, we find it the same in the country, however great may be the shades of difference between one province and another. I think that in this examination we may overlook the rural churches, for this plain reason : that as is the curate or the minister, so is the village ; and to shed pure religious light on the smallest hamlets of our country, there is but one way, — to enlighten the clergy.

The clergy, I acknowledge, have much to do with my Protestant hopes. The present style of preaching from the Catholic pulpit seems to me a proof of the tendency towards a purer Christianity. Go into the various churches of the capital, you will hear discourses against the world, against incredulity, against materialism, against anarchy of opinions, against the boldness of certain systems ; discourses in favor of authority and infallibility, or on the services Catholicism has rendered to civilization, science, philosophy, and even liberty ; or discourses against Protestantism ; but as for sermons honestly filled with Catholic dogmas, explaining the darkness of the real presence, or the uncertainty of the ages of Purgatory, and particularly on the damnation of heathens, of children, of all who are not Catholics, how many are preached in the course of the year in Paris ? Are not the celebrated conferences of Notre Dame the ingenious dissertations of a rhet-

orician, who sometimes embellishes and sometimes eludes the questions he treats, rather than the lessons of an infallible Church that dispenses anathemas to error, a sanction to truth, and salvation or eternal perdition to their auditors? In one word, it seems to me, Sir, that Catholicism is no longer quite Catholic in the pulpit, and I believe this is because the audience is always a little Protestant.

My adversaries cannot object, that these observations apply with equal justice to the Protestant pulpit. It is certain that the preaching in our churches, although it has abandoned that cold and sterile morality which seems drawn from the writings of Cicero rather than from the Gospel, and sets all dogmas aside, has not come back to a sombre and obscure exposition of doctrines; from the abuse of morality, it has not changed to the abuse of theology. The members of our Communion, at least in the most enlightened churches, demand a mode of teaching in which the truths and the precepts of Christianity are presented in harmonious proportion, and the darkness of that dogmatism which deceives itself with mere words is rapidly dispelled by so pure a light.

But it is evident that what constitutes progress in a church founded on free inquiry is, in a church founded on infallibility, a species of tacit abjuration.

A remark uttered by one of the most enlightened priests of the diocese confirms what I have said. We were discussing the age at which it was proper to take the communion for the first time, and I reminded him, that, according to our principles and customs, it takes place at the moment when the passions are first awakened, in order to control them, and when reason and conscience are sufficiently developed to appreciate these solemn truths and the importance of this duty. My interlocutor replied, "We make children take the first communion at the age of ten, eleven, or twelve, because in our Church, in this century, they would not take it after they had attained the age of reason."

This confession recalls another to my mind. The principal of one of the first schools in Paris had, some two or three years since, a number of scholars of our faith. I offered to admit them to my religious lectures. "Never," said he, "shall a pupil of this establishment go to receive Protestant lessons." I then offered to come to the school to give them the instruction preparatory to taking the communion. "Never," was the reply, "shall a Protestant clergyman cross the threshold of

this house to instruct my scholars." I asked the motive of this refusal, which seemed to proceed from a violent spirit of Catholicism. The answer was, "I have two hundred Catholic scholars, and I fear the comparison of doctrines."

These may seem trivial anecdotes ; they will not be so, Sir, in your judgment, for they are what the Scriptures, in their simple and sublime language, call "signs of the times." They are, to use a magnificent image of the Bible, the "little cloud, like a man's hand," which announces the end of the drought and the return of fertility. Yes, the soil of France is fertile, — too much so to produce tares.

Lastly, my hopes rest on the example of other nations. One of our most celebrated men, whose works, unknown to himself, it may be, have contributed the most to prepare these new ways, pressed by me as to the necessity of abandoning his vague religious views for a well-defined faith, said, "I have made to myself a Catholicism which represents Christianity." There was but one reply possible : — "In that case, you are a Protestant, for we do the same ; and the first condition of Catholicism is, not to form it for one's self, but to receive it ready made." I am convinced that many Frenchmen, whom Rome yet believes to be her own, might apply this remark to themselves ; they have, seriously or not, made to themselves a Catholicism.

In Germany, this is done most seriously. Wessemberg, Bishop of Constance, and his whole school, labored with this view. The question of ecclesiastical celibacy,* for instance, has made incontestable progress in several churches of our learned neighbours. The two faculties of Catholic and Protestant theology live in the best intelligence in a German university ; and as to sacred criticism and the interpretation of the Scriptures, I know nothing more deeply Protestant than the admirable exegetical works of three German Catholics, — Jahn, whose Biblical Archæology and Introduction to the Old Testament are marked by profound erudition, by great sagacity, and critical liberalism ; Hug, the true creator of the division of the manuscripts of the New Testament into "families," a system which has rendered to religious science the same service that comparative anatomy owes to Cuvier, and which enables one, on seeing some particular variations,

* *History of the Establishment and Influence of Ecclesiastical Celibacy in the Christian Church*, by the Brothers Theiner. Altinburg. 2 vols. 1818.

to ascertain the age, country, and value of manuscripts already known, and even of those which may yet be discovered ; and lastly, Scholtz, who undertook and executed a European and Oriental exegetical journey, in order to collate and classify manuscripts and put a finishing stroke to this principle of families, which literally closes all discussion on the authenticity of the sacred text. Were this the place to enter on such particulars, it would be easy to show, by developing the opinions of Jahn and of Hug on the Vulgate and the decree of the Council of Trent which sanctions this translation of the Bible, how Protestant is their criticism. This, Sir, is the arena it would be well to open in France both to Catholicism and to Protestantism ; these are the lists in which it is important that they should meet ; we have each need of science. What an anomaly is it, that France, so rich in Oriental studies, and boasting the works of a Silvestre de Sacy and the discoveries of a Champollion, should be so poor in sacred criticism, that even books on the subject are not to be procured ! About three months since, I ascertained that in Paris there was on sale but one copy of Scholtz's edition of the New Testament. Without doubt, when the Catholic Church among us shall have a Hug and a Jahn, and the Protestant Church her Michaelis and her Griesbach, we shall be near the time when the two churches, instead of representing two hostile religions, will only form two modes of worship of the same religion.

These last lines will prove to you, that I condemn, as much as you can, that persevering proselytism which takes advantage of disease and old age, or, what is often the same, of ignorance, dissects Christianity by petty controversy, piously sows discord in the bosom of a family or of a church, and believes it has insured a triumph to faith when it has but created a new perplexity to the government. In my opinion, a conversion is useless, when made by any one but the convert himself. I agree with you, Sir, that the two modes of worship should each in its sphere attack immorality, materialism, indifference, ignorant or sneering incredulity, for these are our common enemies ; but, in order that success may crown the struggle, the two religions must, you acknowledge, lay aside controversy. And they will not lay it aside, unless they both renounce the spirit of exclusion, whether it rest on the decrees of a council or the teachings of a synod, on the bulls of a Pope or the writings of a re-

former ; they will not lay it aside, unless they confess the necessity of permitting every mind, under its personal responsibility, to find Christianity where it will, — at Rome, at Geneva, or elsewhere ; they will not lay it aside, unless the civil law never favors, through either connivance or weakness, the exclusiveness of a religious law. This will be the final result ; I find an infallible guaranty of it in the Gospel, which declares itself the “ law of liberty ” ; and to use, before concluding, a direct argument, even the progress of toleration in Protestantism is, in my view, another proof that we are advancing towards the new destinies of the religion of Christ. This progress your letter and the present answer offer an opportunity of verifying. In the sixteenth century, I should doubtless have been called before a synod, as a pastor of the Church, for the heresies contained in this letter, and you, as a member of the Consistory, for the prophecies in your article ; at present, this will not happen to either of us.

I end with a regret, — I had almost said, with an appeal. If the views I have presented of the religious state of the country agree with facts ; if there is no hand powerful enough to close the abyss which separates the principles of modern society from those of pure Catholicism ; if the general tendency is towards our doctrines of peace, of toleration, and of equality of rights ; if between Catholicism and Protestantism there is nothing but the simple negation of the Gospel ; and if the social evils of to-day arise from this being an age of transition from the Catholic Gospel, which wishes dominion, to the Protestant Gospel, which only wishes liberty, — then, Sir, you are right ; to revive religious life is the work to which we are all called ; an immense work, for the evil is immense. But is it serving the cause of this great religious and social progress, for you, as a writer, to take Catholicism under your protection, and to sign, with your Protestant hand, its act of perpetuity ?

What an important service you might render politics and religion, by raising your powerful voice to advise each of our fellow-citizens whom the charter still numbers in its doubtful majority of Catholics to ask himself truly and sincerely if he is one or not, and to prove that he is a good citizen and a good Christian by renouncing that official hypocrisy or that fatal indifference which leaves “ the mind wavering and the heart void ” ! How much would this sim-

plify the question, both in politics and in religion, and how quickly we should see that fear vanish which seizes on so many when any point regarding the forms of worship, the government, and the nation is touched upon! No one, perhaps, in the present century, when the glass house of the Roman is built neither in the city nor in the sanctuary, — no one more than yourself has the courage to express his opinion on matters of politics. Make a noble use of your position, Sir, to require France to have the courage to express her religious opinions. You will thus crown your labors as an historian by the noblest of lessons, and your acts as a statesman by the most brilliant service rendered to religion, to the dynasty, and to our country.

Paris, August, 1838.

R. W. [Tr.]

ART. IV. — THE USE OF THE WORD "DEUS" IN
PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.*

IN A Note on "The Use of the Words *θεός* and *Deus*," which is appended to the third volume of the work referred to in the margin, Mr. Norton has remarked (p. lxxi. note †) upon "a popular use of the word '*deus*' in the singular number, which several of the Latin fathers have appealed to, as showing a natural consciousness in men of the one God." Thus Tertullian, urging against the heathen polytheism what he calls "the testimony of the soul," says: — "*Deus magnus, Deus bonus, et, Quod Deus dederit, omnium vox est. Judicem quoque contestatur illum; Deus videt, et, Deo commendando, et, Deus mihi reddet. O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ!*" † From this and other passages of Tertullian (particularly *De Testimonio Animæ*, c. 2, and *De Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 3), from Minutius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, as quoted or referred to by Mr. Norton, and also from Jerome (*Brev. in Psalm. xcvi. 10, et Comm. in Malach. ii. 14*), it appears that the use of such expressions, however they are to be understood, was common

* *The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.* By ANDREWS NORTON. Vols. II. and III. Second Edition. Cambridge and Boston. 1848.

† *Apologet. c. 17.*

among heathens who spoke the Latin language, from the end of the second century, if not before.

In the new edition of his work, recently published, Mr. Norton has made some additional observations respecting this subject; and, in particular, has called attention to a fact, which, with the inference that may be drawn from it, will best be stated in his own words.

"Going back," he observes, "two or three centuries before Christianity, we find, on the other hand, evidence that such expressions were not ordinarily used, — that they did not belong to the language of the generality. Plautus and Terence, in their Comedies, give us the language of common life; and such expressions do not occur in their writings. In no case corresponding to those mentioned by the Latin fathers is the word 'deus' used by them in the singular. On the contrary, its use in the plural is of constant occurrence, in a great variety of forms of speech, such as the following: — 'Ita me dī ament,' — 'Dī te servent,' — 'Dī te perdant,' — 'Per omnes deos adjuro,' — 'Per te obsecro deos immortales,' — 'Dī sciunt,' — 'Dī! quæso subvenite,' — 'Id testor deos,' — 'Dī! obsecro vos,' — 'Dī prohibeant,' — and many more.

"How are these facts to be explained? The conceptions and language of Christians affected the writings of the heathen philosophers, their contemporaries. Must we not conclude that they affected in like manner the forms of speech used by the heathen commonalty?" — Vol. III., Note D, pp. lxxiii., lxxiv.

The principal object of the present article is to exhibit the facts on which the preceding statement is based; in other words, to give as accurate and complete a view as may be in our power of the use of the word "deus" in the extant writings of Plautus and Terence.* However uninviting this may be to a portion of readers, we hope that it will not prove wholly devoid of interest, at least, to the philologist and the theologian. It cannot fail to illustrate the religious conceptions prevalent among the Roman people in the time of those authors; and it may serve to strengthen our conviction of the value of Christianity considered not merely as a revelation from God, but as a revelation of God.

* We may be permitted to mention, that the investigation of which the result is here given was originally undertaken, without any thought of publication, at the instance of the author of the work we have quoted; and that it is at his request that the record of the facts ascertained has been placed at the disposal of the Editors of the Examiner.

A few words are necessary in regard to the manner in which this collection has been formed.

Finding that the Indexes to the editions within our reach could not be relied on as complete, we have gone through *Plautus* and *Terence*, for the express purpose of noting all the passages in which the word "*deus*" occurs.* We have also assured ourselves that the Indexes which we have been able to consult refer to no examples which had escaped our notice.

The editions of *Plautus* which we have principally used are that published by *Valpy* in his *Collection of Latin Classics*, Lond. 1829, containing the text of *Gronovius*; and that of *Weise* (*Quedlinburgi et Lipsiæ*, 1837, 1838, 2 tom. 8vo.), to whose text the references we have given in *parentheses* are adapted.

For *Terence* we have used the *Delphin* edition; but we have also compared the edition in *Valpy's* *Collection*, based on *Westerhovius*, — and that of *Giles*, in which the divisions of the text, for the most part, coincide with those in *Valpy*. The figures in parentheses refer to one or both of these.

We proceed, without further preface, to exhibit the use of the word "*deus*" in *Plautus*.

In the singular number the word occurs, in *Weise's* edition, twenty-two times.† It is applied, —

1. To a particular divinity previously introduced; as, "*Jupiter*." *Amph.* i. 2. 31. — "*Mercury*." *Amph. Prol.* 53, and iii. 4. 3. — "*Hercules*." *Stich.* ii. 2 (3). 70. — "*Auxilium*." *Cist.* i. 3. 2, 5. — "*Salus*" and "*Fortuna Obsequens*," as personated by "*Libanus*" and "*Leonida*," slaves, who in jest give themselves those names. *Asin.* iii. 3. 123, 126. Similarly, to "*Ergasilus*." *Capt.* iv. 2. 85 (86). — *Jocosely*, to "*Suavis-Suaviatio*." *Bacch.* i. 2. 12.

2. To a divinity not before named, but distinguished by what is predicated; as, *Aul.* iv. 10. 7 (11), "*Deus impulsor mihi fuit*; is me ad illam illexit"; i. e. *Cupid*. Compare *Pers.* i. 1. 25, 26; and notice the manner in which "*falsehood*" prompted by a sudden impulse, "*calidum mendacium*," is ascribed to the suggestion of the gods, *Most.* iii.

* There are twenty-five examples of the word "*deus*" in *Plautus* not referred to in *Valpy's* Index.

† In *Asin.* i. 1. 8, for "*deum fidium*" *Weise* reads "*deum fidem*"; and in *Pœn.* ii. 1. 10 (as also *Valpy*), "*deam*" for "*deum*."

1. 136-7 (132, 134). — *Pœn.* v. 1. 25 (9), "Deum hospitalem."

3. The reference is general or undetermined; as, *Asin.* iv. 1. 37, "Deum nullum" [invocet]. — *Cist.* iv. 1. 17, "Quis deus objecit hanc ante ostium nostrum?" — *Bacch.* iv. 3. 24 (2. 39), "Deus respiciet nos aliquis." — *Ibid.* iv. 7 (6). 20, "Hunc si ullus deus amaret, plus annis decem, Plus jam viginti mortuom esse oportuit." See what precedes. — *Merc.* v. 2. 3, "Ecquis nam deus est, qui meâ nunc lætus lætitiâ fuit?" — *Pers.* iv. 4. 34, "Nunquam ullus deus tam benignus fuit, qui fuerit propitius" [generi lenonio].

Note particularly the indefiniteness of the following: *Rud.* i. 4. 37 (38), "Nunc quisquis est deus, veneror, uti nos ex hac ærumnâ eximat." Observe, also, *Capt.* ii. 2. 63: —

"Est profecto deus, qui quæ nos gerimus, auditque et videt;
Is, uti med hic habueris, proinde illum [filium tuum] illic curaverit."

Cudworth regards this as a "plain acknowledgment of one omniscient Deity." * The form of expression, however, is

* Intellectual System, Chap. IV. § 19 (Vol. I. p. 486, Andov. edit.). — Cudworth, on quoting this passage, observes that it "very much resembles that of Manlius Torquatus in Livy, 'Est cœleste numen, es magne Jupiter'; a strong asseveration of one supreme and universal Deity." We think the expression of Plautus does resemble, and is probably equivalent to, the "Est cœleste numen" of Livy; but they both, we believe, refer to divine power not conceived of as belonging to "one supreme and universal Deity," but to the gods in general; of whom Jupiter was indeed regarded as the sovereign, but by no means as infinite in knowledge or in power. The context of the passage in Livy (*Lib.* viii. c. 6) favors, if it does not require, this explanation. "Bene habet. Dii pium movere bellum. Est cœleste numen! Es, magne Jupiter! haud frustra te patrem deûm hominumque hac sede sacravimus. Quid cessatis, Quirites, vosque, Patres conscripti, arma capere, diis ducibus?" Compare similar passages of Livy, referred to by the commentators; as, *Lib.* iii. c. 56, "Deos tandem esse, et non negligere humana, fremunt"; — *Lib.* xxix. c. 18; xxx. c. 37.

Cudworth proceeds to adduce a passage from the Prologue to the *Rudens*, in which Jupiter is called "the ruler of gods and men," but is so far from being described as "omniscient," that he is represented as sending inferior deities to different parts of the world to observe the conduct of men, and bring up the names of bad and good to him. The passage is curious enough, perhaps, to deserve quotation. *Arcturus* is speaking: —

"Noctu sum in cœlo clarus, atque inter deos:
Inter mortales ambulo interdus.
Et alia signa de cœlo ad terram accidunt.
Qui est imperator divûm atque hominum Jupiter,
Is nos per gentes alium aliâ disparat,
Hominum qui facta, mores, pietatem et fidem
Noscamus: ut quemque adjuvet opulentia.
Qui falsas lites falsis testimoniis

indefinite, and the meaning may be, "There is surely some god who hears and sees," etc. (*deus*, "*quisquis est*") ; or "*deus*" may be taken in the sense of a divine power considered as residing with the gods in general ; conformably to other passages in which "the gods" are spoken of as taking cognizance of the actions of men. The latter explanation is perhaps the more probable. The language is as indefinite, we conceive, as the following would be in the mouth of a heathen polytheist : —

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

That the occurrence of the word "*deus*" here, in the singular number, is no valid objection to this view, appears from the illustrations of its use given by Mr. Norton, in the Note already referred to.

The passages are numerous in ancient writers, in which "*θεός*" and "*deus*" cannot be understood as denoting either any one particular inferior deity, or the Supreme Being. They are frequently employed, like other generic names, "not merely," to use the words of Mr. Norton, "to denote an individual belonging to the class which they designate, but the whole class, or individuals of that class considered in reference to qualities common to the class. In such cases the singular may be changed into the plural without any change of meaning." "As in our language, the word 'man' in the singular number is used to denote men generally, so in the Greek and Latin languages, the words *θεός* and '*deus*' are used in the singular with a like plural signification, to denote the gods generally, considered as a class of intelligent beings superior to man." The singular and plural forms are, accordingly, often interchanged, in the same connection. Examples of this are given by Mr. Norton, to which, as he observes, many others might be added.

In reference to this point, we would also invite particular attention to the passages in which pronouns, adjectives, and verbs are used in the plural, referring to *θεός* or "*deus*" previously expressed only in the singular ; as in Cicero de *Naturâ Deorum*, Lib. I. c. 38 : — "*Hoc idem fieri in deo, ex quo esse beati atque æterni intellegantur*" ; where

Petunt ; quique in jure abjurant pecuniam ;
Eorum referimus nomina exscripta ad Jovem.

Bonos in aliis tabulis exscriptos habet."

the note of Davis may be consulted, who gives another example from Seneca de Providentiâ, c. 2.

Remarkable instances of this occur in the Discourses of Epictetus, as given by Arrian; e. g. Diss. Lib. IV. c. 4. § 48: — "Accustomed to reflections like these, do you think it matters where you are, that you may be happy; where you are, that you may please the divinity [or, the gods]? (ποῦ ὧν ἀρέσκεις τῷ θεῷ;) Are not they everywhere equally near you? Do not they see what is doing in one place, as well as in another?" (Οὐ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἴσον ἀπὸ χουσιν; οὐ πανταχόθεν ὁμοίως ὁρᾷσι τὰ γινόμενα;)

A passage still more interesting, but too long to be quoted in full, may be found Lib. II. c. 14, § 11, seqq., where it is said that "the philosophers teach, that the first thing to be learned is, that there is a divine Power [or, there are divine beings] by whose providence the universe is governed (ὅτι ἐστὶ θεός, καὶ προνοεῖ τῶν ὅλων, κ. τ. λ.); . . . next, what their character is (ποῖοι τινες εἰσίν); for he who would please and obey them (τὸν ἐκείνοις ἀρέσσοντα, κ. τ. λ.) must do all in his power to be like them (ἐξομοιοῦσθαι ἐκείνοις); if the divinity is faithful (εἰ πιστὸν ἐστὶ τὸ θεῖον), free, beneficent, magnanimous, he must be so too; in short, he must do and say every thing as an imitator of what is divine (ὡς θεοῦ ζηλωτήν)." — See also Lib. I. c. 4, §§ 31, 32; and, for the interchange of the singular and plural, Lib. I. c. 12, § 1, seqq.; c. 20, §§ 15, 16.

We have been led to this digression, for the purpose of further illustrating that important fact respecting the signification of θεός and *deus* in ancient writings, which, so far as we know, Mr. Norton has been the first distinctly to point out and elucidate. "From overlooking this use of those words, they have," as he observes, "when occurring in the singular number in ancient heathen writers, been often misunderstood as intended to denote the Supreme Being."

To return to Plautus. An instance, apparently, of the indiscriminate use of the singular and plural of "*deus*" occurs, if the text be pure, in Rudens i. 3. 3 (4), seqq., —

"Hoc deo complacitum est? me hoc ornatu ornatam,
In incertas regiones, timidam, ejectam?"

compared with vv. 8 – 11 (11 – 14), where Palæstra says she can bear this, —

"Si erga parentem aut deos me impiavi.
Sed si id paratè curavi ut caverem,
Tum hoc mihi indecorè, iniquè, immodestè
Datis, di."

Weise, however, regards the lines first quoted as spurious, though he assigns no reason for this opinion.

4. "Deus" is used metaphorically, to denote "felicity"; as, *Curc.* i. 3. 11, "Sum deus," i. e. beatus. Compare *Merc.* v. 2. 3, quoted above, no. 3.

In the plural, the word "deus" occurs in *Plautus* about four hundred and twelve times. The examples of its use may be thus arranged:—

1. In exclamations; as, "[Proh] di immortales!" *Amph.* ii. 2. 190 (199). *Aul.* iii. 4. 1. iv. 2. 9. *Bacch.* ii. 2. 4. ii. 3. 10. iii. 3. 10. *Capt.* iii. 5. 39. iv. 2. 111 (112). iv. 3. 2. v. 2. 21. *Curc.* ii. 2. 24. *Epid.* i. 1. 54. ii. 2. 12 (14). v. 1. 21. *Men.* v. 9. 3. *Merc.* iii. 1. 40. *Mil.* ii. 4. 8. ii. 6. 48. *Most.* i. 3. 49. iii. 3 (iv. 2). 9. *Pers.* iv. 4. 16. *Pœn.* iv. 2. 101. v. 2. 28. *Pseud.* ii. 3. 1, 22. ii. 4. 46. *Rud.* i. 1. 1. i. 2. 60. ii. 4. 7. ii. 5. 1. iv. 4. 117 (116). iv. 5. 1. v. 2. 6. v. 3. 4 ("O di," etc.). *Stich.* iv. 2. 45. v. 2. 9. *Trin.* i. 2. 123. ii. 4. 100. iv. 3. 23. *Truc.* ii. 4. 80 (83). iv. 2. 57 (61). iv. 4. 11. — "[Proh] di [immortales], obsecro vostram fidem!" *Amph.* i. 1. 299 (302). v. 1. 78 (81). *Aul.* ii. 2. 87 ("obsecro" simply). *Cist.* iv. 1. 11. *Men.* v. 7. 12 ("obsecro" simply). *Most.* ii. 2. 97 (96). *Pœn.* v. 2. 7. *Truc.* iv. 3. 31. — "Di vostram fidem!" *Capt.* ii. 3. 58. *Men.* v. 2. 119. *Pœn.* iv. 2. 8, 78. v. 1. 20 (4). *Trin.* ii. 4. 190. iv. 3. 63. *Truc.* i. 1. 8. — "Proh deûm atque hominum fidem!" *Curc.* v. 3. 16. *Epid.* iv. 2. 10. Cf. *Men.* v. 8. 4 ("tu clamabas deûm fidem atque hominum omnium"). — "Per deûm fidem!" [al. "deum fidium"]. *Asin.* i. 1. 8. — "Quæso, di immortales!" *Pœn.* iii. 2. 31. — "Di boni!" *Epid.* iv. 1. 12 (16). — "Di magni!" *Truc.* iv. 1. 3.

2. Asseverations; as, "Ita me di [bene] ament" or "amabunt ["ut," etc., or "nisi," etc.]," and the like. *Amph.* ii. 1. 50 (53). *Aul.* iii. 5. 22. *Bacch.* i. 2. 3. iv. 8 (7). 54. *Cas.* ii. 8. 16. *Mil.* ii. 6. 21 ("deæque"). iii. 1. 131 (129) ("deæque"). v. 1. 10. *Most.* i. 3. 14. ii. 2. 87 (86). *Pers.* iv. 3. 21 (22). iv. 4. 87 (88). *Pœn.* i. 2. 76 (79), *bis.* i. 3. 30. iii. 1. 1. iv. 2. 5. v. 4. 49 (63). *Pseud.* iv. 1. 33 (39). *Stich.* iv. 1. 1. v. 4. 3. v. 5. 13. *Trin.* iv. 3. 17. — "Di me perdant si," or "nisi," etc. *Aul.* iv. 4. 18. *Cist.* ii. 1. 21 (30). *Mil.* iii. 2. 20. *Pers.* ii. 4. 21 ("deæque"). — "Me ita di servant, ut," etc. *Pœn.* v. 4. 88 (102). — "Di deæque omnes me pessusmis exem-

plis interficiant, nisi," etc. *Most.* i. 3. 35. — "Di me et te infelicient, si," etc. *Cas.* ii. 3. 30 (32). — "Di [al. "divi"] me faciant quod volunt, ni," etc. *Most.* i. 3. 65. — "Ita me di deæque superi atque inferi et medioxumi di me omnes magni minutique et patellarii, faxint ne ego dem nisi," etc. *Cist.* ii. 1. 36 (45), 46 (55). — "Per omnes deos adjuro, ["ut," etc.]." *Bacch.* iv. 6 (5). 8. *Men.* iv. 2. 52 (58), 92 (97). — "Summum Jovem deosque detestor" [al. "do testis"]. *Men.* v. 2. 60, 61. — "Di sciunt. . . . *Ch.* Deos absentes testes memoras." *Merc.* iii. 4. 41, 42. — "Per omnes deos et deas dejuravit." *Cas.* iii. 5. 36 (51).

3. Entreaty, etc.; as, "Per te obsecro deos immortales." *Bacch.* iv. 8 (7). 65. *Mil.* ii. 6. 60 ("per deos atque homines"). — "Per deos atque homines ego te obtestor, ne," etc. *Capt.* 3. 5. 69. — "Per ego vobis deos atque homines dico ut," or "ne," etc., "I charge you," etc. *Men.* v. 7. 1. *Trin.* ii. 4. 119.

4. Imprecations; as, "Di te perdant," and the like. ("Jupiter te dique," etc., occurs seven times.) *Asin.* ii. 4. 61. *Aul.* iv. 4. 31. iv. 10. 55 (59) ("di immortales deæque quantum est"). *Capt.* iii. 4. 5. iv. 2. 88 (89). iv. 4. 1 ("Diespiter te dique"). *Cas.* ii. 3. 57 (59) ("Hercules dique"). ii. 4. 1 ("di omnes deæque"). iii. 4. 19. iii. 5. 17 (22). *Curc.* ii. 3. 38. v. 3. 42 ("deæque"). *Epid.* i. 1. 21. *Men.* ii. 2. 34. iii. 1. 6. iv. 2. 31, 103 (108). v. 5. 31. *Merc.* iv. 3. 11. iv. 4. 53 ("deæque"). v. 4. 6. *Mil.* ii. 3. 15. *Most.* i. 1. 38. ii. 2. 35 (33) ("deæque omnes"). iii. 1. 138 (135). 154 (151) ("deæque omnes, funditus"). *Pers.* ii. 4. 21, 25, 27 ("deæque"). iv. 4. 70 (71). v. 2. 7. *Pœn.* iii. 2. 11, 33. iv. 2. 41. *Pseud.* iii. 2. 48. iv. 7. 132 (130). *Rud.* iv. 4. 68 (67), 122 (121). *Stich.* iv. 2. 15. *Trin.* iv. 2. 78, 150, 155. *Truc.* ii. 3. 10. *Frag.* i. 40 (p. 445, Weise). The verb is understood, *Pseud.* i. 1. 35 ("di deæque"). — "Malum quod tibi di dabunt," etc. *Amph.* ii. 1. 13. *Most.* iii. 1. 126 (122) ("deæque omnes"). *Pseud.* iv. 7. 30. — "Malum tibi di dent." *Stich.* i. 3. (ii. 1). 106. — "Malè tibi di faciant." *Curc.* i. 2. 38 (41). — "Di immortales te infelicient," etc. *Epid.* i. 1. 11. Cf. *Merc.* ii. 3. 99 (98). *Pœn.* ii. 1. 1. *Rud.* iii. 6. 47. — "Di deæque te excrucient." *Pers.* v. 2. 50 (55). — "Di faciant, ut id bibatis, quod vos nunquam transeat." *Pers.* v. 2. 42 (47).

5. Good wishes and benedictions; as, "Di te ament,"

etc. Aul. ii. 2. 6. Bacch. iii. 3. 53. Capt. i. 2. 35 (29). Curc. iii. 1. 85. Men. ii. 2. 6 ("amabunt"). Most. i. 4. 27 (28). iii. 2. 28 (27), 119 (120). v. 2. 9. Pers. i. 1. 16. ii. 2. 23 ("me pro te, jocanter." Weise). Pœn. iii. 5. 6. iv. 2. 37 ("omnes deæque"). Pseud. i. 3. 37 (51) ("deæque"). v. 2. 5 (10). Rud. v. 2. 16. — "Tibi di faciant bene," or "benefaciant." Men. v. 7. 32 (34). Mil. ii. 6. 87. v. 1. 26. Pers. iv. 3. 18. — "Di te servassint," or "servent." Asin. iii. 3. 64. Cas. ii. 5. 16. Pseud. i. 1. 119. Trin. ii. 2. 103 (107). Cf. Pseud. i. 1. 35. — "Di tibi dent quæcunque optes," and the like. Asin. i. 1. 32. iii. 3. 33. Capt. ii. 2. 105 ("di tibi omnes omnia optata adferant"). Epid. i. 1. 4. Mil. iv. 2. 47 (48). Pers. i. 1. 16. iv. 3. 14. Pœn. i. 1. 80 ("multa bona"). iii. 3. 54 ("di deæque multa bona"), 74 ("multa bona"). v. 2. 95. Pseud. iv. 1. 25 (32). Stich. iii. 2. 15. Trin. ii. 4. 35. v. 2. 28. — "Deos volo bene vortere istanc rem vobis." Curc. v. 2. 58. — "Deos volo consilia vobis vostra rectè vortere." Trin. v. 2. 31. — "Di fortunabunt vostra consilia." Trin. ii. 4. 175. — "Ite cum dis benevolentibus." Mil. iv. 8. 41. Cf. Pers. iii. 1. 4 ("cum dis volentibus").

6. Prayers and pious wishes; as, "Ita di faciant," or "faxint." Amph. i. 1. 224 (227). ii. 1. 85 (88). Aul. ii. 1. 27. ii. 2. 79. iii. 6. 9. iv. 10. 58, 59 *bis* (62, 63). Capt. i. 2. 69 (63) ("deæque"). Cist. i. 1. 53 *bis* (52). Pers. iv. 4. 100 (101). Pœn. iv. 2. 87, 89. — "Di melius faciant." Bacch. iv. 3. 13 (2. 18). Cas. iv. 3. 14 (20). Merc. ii. 2. 14 *bis*. Pseud. i. 3. 81 (95). — "Di bene vortant." Aul. ii. 1. 53 (55). ii. 2. 79. ii. 3. 5. Pseud. ii. 2. 51. Trin. ii. 4. 101, 172. Frag. ii. 5 (p. 451, Weise). — "Ne di sirint," or "siverint." Bacch. iii. 3. 64. Merc. ii. 2. 51. iii. 4. 28. — "Di immortales, spem insperatam date mihi." Men. v. 9. 22. — "Date, di, quæso, conveniendi copiam." Merc. v. 2. 9. — "Di, quæso, subvenite." Rud. v. 2. 11. — "Deos quæso, ut," etc. Amph. ii. 2. 88 (96). Cas. ii. 6. 37, 44. Rud. ii. 6. 15. iv. 7. 30. — "Servate me, dei, obsecro." Cist. ii. 3. 31. iv. 1. 12 ("Quid deos obsecras?"). — "Pro di immortales! obsecro vostram fidem, Facite huc ut redeat," etc. Most. i. 1. 74. — "Deos sibi invocat." Amph. v. 1. 9, 41 (44). — "Deos oro, ["ut," etc.]." Epid. ii. 2. 117 (119). Merc. v. 2. 67 (65). Trin. i. 2. 19. — "Deos deasque veneror, ut," etc. Pœn. v. 1. 17 (1). — "A dis supplicans." Rud. Prol. 26.

7. Language relating to the worship of the gods, or honor paid to them; as, "Deos salutare." Bacch. ii. 3. 113. Curc. i. 1. 70. Stich. iv. 1. 29. iv. 2. 43. — "Dis facere." Rud. iii. 4. 4. — "Dis sacrificare." Truc. ii. 4. 69 (72). — "Ad deum pacem." Poen. i. 2. 43 (42). — "Deum metum." Amph. ii. 2. 211 (220). — "Deos quidem, quos maximè æquom est metuere, eos minimi facit." Pseud. i. 3. 35 (49). — "Deos quoque edepol et amo et metuo." Poen. i. 2. 70 (73). — "Minutos cave deos floccifeceris." Cas. ii. 5. 24. — "Deos parvi pendit." Rud. iii. 2. 36. — "Si erga parentem aut deos me impiavi." Rud. i. 3. 8 (11). — "Dis gratias ago, habeo," etc. Amph. i. 1. 26 (27). Asin. i. 2. 17. Capt. v. 5. 1 ("Jovi disque"). Cist. ii. 3. 80. Pers. v. 1. 3 ("Jupiter, dique alii omnes cœlipotentes, vobis — quia probè sum ultus meum inimicum"). Poen. v. 4. 84 (98), 104 (119) ("di deæque omnes, vobis"). Trin. iv. 1. 5 ("Neptune, tibi ante alios deos").

8. Other recognitions of the agency or interest of the gods in human affairs; as, "Virtute deum." Aul. ii. 1. 44 (46). Capt. ii. 2. 74. Mil. iii. 1. 82 (81), 85 (84). Pers. iii. 1. 62. Trin. ii. 2. 65 (69), 74 (78). — "Di me servant" (said when a person is congratulating himself on his good fortune). Amph. v. 1. 37 (39). Aul. ii. 2. 30. Merc. v. 4. 5. Pseud. ii. 2. 19 ("atque amant"). — "Te di amant." Rud. iv. 4. 139 (138). — "Di me [salvum et] servatum volunt." Aul. iv. 6. 11. Men. v. 9. 61. Trin. iv. 3. 69. — "Di immortales meum herum servatum volunt, et hunc disperditum lenonem." Poen. iv. 2. 95. Cf. Rud. iv. 4. 120 (119). — "Di me cupiunt servatum." Cas. iv. 3. 16 (21). Epid. v. 1. 37. — "Di omnes me adjuvant, augent, amant." Epid. ii. 2. 8 (10). Men. iii. 3. 27. Cf. Capt. iv. 2. 79 (80). Epid. iii. 3. 15 ("deæque"). Merc. ii. 3. 67 (66). — "Duodecim dis plus, quàm in cœlo est deorum immortalium, Mihi nunc auxilio adjuutores sunt, et mecum militant." Epid. v. 2. 10, 11. — "Si unquam quemquam di immortales volere esse auxilio adjutum, Tum me et Calidorum servatum volunt esse, et lenonem extinctum." Pseud. iv. 1. 1, 2. — "Di hercle hanc rem adjuvant." Mil. iii. 2. 57. — "Duo di [Mars et Venus] quem curant." Mil. iv. 9. 7. — "Di me omnes [al. "homines"] respiciunt." Rud. v. 2. 29. — "Proh di immortales, mi hunc diem dedistis luculentum!" Epid. iii. 2. 5. — "Si te di amant," or "ament." Epid. iii. 4. 78 (82). Mil. ii. 3. 22. ii. 6. 88. Poen. iii. 3. 46. — "Si di ad-

juvant." Capt. iii. 4. 55. — "Si di volunt," or "volent." Bacch. ii. 3. 5. Pœn. iv. 2. 88. — "Si di immortales id voluere," etc. Capt. ii. 2. 1. — "Deos credo voluisse, ["ut," etc.]" Aul. iv. 10. 12, 13 (16, 17). — "Si dis placet." Capt. ii. 3. 94. Truc. iii. 1. 3. — "Ita dis placitum." Amph. ii. 2. 5 (4). — "Nisi omnes di me atque homines deserunt." Pseud. i. 3. 147 (161). ii. 2. 6. — "Nisi quid di aut parentes faxint, quid sperem haud scio." Pœn. v. 4. 38 (52). — "Nisi quid mi opis di dant, disperii." Cist. iv. 2. 2. — "Di eam potestatem dabunt." Capt. v. 1. 14 (13). — "Quod di dant, fero." Aul. i. 2 (3). 10. — "Ne indigna indignis di darent." Pœn. v. 4. 82 (96). — "Di dabunt" [filium]. Rud. i. 1. 19. — "Cui servitutem di danunt lenoniam." Pseud. iii. 1. 1. — "Quod di dant boni," and the like. Bacch. v. 2. 70 (73). Men. iii. 2. 9. iii. 3. 34. Pœn. v. 4. 83 (97). Rud. iv. 7. 3. — "Si quoi homini dei esse benefactum volunt." Rud. iv. 5. 3. Cf. Rud. ii. 3. 76. Bacch. iv. 3 (2). 6. — "Boni quantum ipsus a diis optat." Capt. iv. 1. 10. Cf. Stich. ii. 1. 24 (2. 23). — "Optatus dies datus ab dis." Pers. v. 1. 21 (23). — "Di immortales, quibus et quantis me donatis gaudiis!" Aul. v. 1. 1. — "Hoc mihi indecorè . . . datis, di." Rud. i. 3. 10, 11 (13, 14). — "Nostram pietatem approbant decorantque di immortales." Pœn. v. 4. 85 (99). — "Deos atque homines ejus negligere gratiam." Pœn. iv. 2. 1. — "Di immortales animum ostenderunt suum, ut," etc. Capt. ii. 1. 45 (52). — "Quò eveniat, dis in manu est." Bacch. i. 2. 36. — "Nihil erit, quod deorum ullum accusites." Most. iii. 2. 23 (22). — "Qui deum consilia culpet, stultus inscitusque sit." Mil. iii. 1. 141 (139). See what precedes. — "*Tox.* Sagittâ Cupido cor meum transfixit. *Sag.* Jam servi hic amant? *Tox.* Quid ergo faciam? Disne advorser? quasi Titani cum dis belligerem, Quibus sat esse non queam?" Pers. i. 1. 25–27. — "Neque me Jupiter neque di omnes prohibebunt." Amph. iv. 3. 17. — "Di nos quasi pila habent." Capt. Prol. 22. — "Miris modis di ludos faciunt hominibus." Merc. ii. 1. 1. Rud. iii. 1. 1. — "Di irati" or "inimici." Amph. iv. 2. 2 ("Jupiter dique omnes"). Pœn. ii. 1. 19. Rud. iv. 4. 102 (101). Cf. Mil. ii. 3. 43 ("dis inimicis natus atque iratis"). Most. iii. 1. 36 (30) ("natus dis inimicis omnibus"). Pœn. ii. 1. 4 ("dis meis iratissimis"). — "Di deæque te agitant irati." Pers. iv. 4. 114 (115). — "Deorum odium atque hominum malum." Rud. ii. 2. 13. — "Dii propitii." Amph. v. 1. 38

(41). Aul. v. 1. 3. Bacch. iii. 3. 48. Curc. iv. 2. 45. iv. 4. 1. Mil. iii. i. 107 (106). Pers. iv. 3. 1. — "Dis fretus." Cas. ii. 5. 38, 40, 41. — "Deos sperare," i. e. in deos spem ponere. Cas. ii. 5. 38. Cist. ii. 3. 52. Mil. iv. 5. 10.

9. Miscellaneous examples. — "Scitis concessum et datum Mi esse ab dis aliis, nuntiis præsīm et lucro" (Mercury speaks). Amph. Prol. 12. — "Deorum regnator." Amph. Prol. 45. — "Rex deorum atque hominum." Capt. iii. 4. 89. — "Reges quò veniant ["appear" in comedy] et di." Amph. Prol. 61. — "Deos esse tui similes putas?" Amph. i. 1. 128 (131). — "Deorum nescis nomina." Bacch. i. 2. 16. — "*Pi.* Amor, Voluptas, Venus, Venustas, Gaudium, Jocus, Ludus, Sermo, Suavis-Suaviatio. *Ly.* Quid tibi commercii est cum dis damnosissimis? *Pi.* Mali sunt homines, qui bonis dicunt malè. Tu dis nec recte dicis; non æquom facis." Bacch. i. 2. 7-11. — "Volcanus, Sol, Luna, Dies, dei quatuor." Bacch. ii. 3. 21. — "Cui deorum?" Capt. iv. 2. 83. — "Inter deos." Rud. Prol. 6. — "Deos minores." Cas. ii. 5. 28. — "Dii penates." Merc. v. 1. 5, 7. — "Alios deos facturos." Curc. ii. 2. 13. — "Undecim deos" [præter Jovem]. Epid. v. 1. 4. — "Ego faxo posthac di deæque ceteri contentiores magis erunt." Poen. ii. 1. 14. — "Di omnes qui cælum colunt." Pers. iv. 4. 32. — "*Ch.* An etiam vidisti Jovem? *Sy.* Eum alii dii isse ad villam aiebant servis depromptum cibum." Trin. iv. 2. 102. — "Quid videbis magis dis æquiparabile?" Curc. i. 3. 12. — "Deis proximum esse arbitror." Pseud. v. 1. 13 (14). — "Di immortales omnipotentes [note the looseness of this epithet], quid est apud vos pulchrius?" Poen. i. 2. 63 (66). — "Deorum divitias." Men. i. 3. 34. — "Dei divites sunt — deos decent opulentiae." Trin. ii. 4. 89. — "Decorum dis locum." Rud. i. 4. 35 (36). — "Dis dignum." Trin. iv. 1. 12 (11). — "Magis eandem non reor deos facere posse." Mil. ii. 6. 50. — "Æquom fuit Deos paravisse uno exemplo ne omnes vitam viverent," etc. A curious passage. Mil. iii. 1. 131 (129), seqq. — "Homini amico, qui est amicus, Nisi deos, ei nihil præstare" [arbitror]. Bacch. iii. 2. 3. — "Si deos decepit et homines." Rud. ii. 3. 16. — "Deum hercle me atque hominum pudet" (an expression of vexation). Trin. iv. 2. 67. — Note the following. "Calidum hercle audiivi esse optimum mendacium; Quidquid dei dicunt ["dictate"], id decretum [al. "rectum"] est dicere." Most. iii. 1. 136, 137 (132,

134). — "Quem di diligunt Adolefcens moritur, dum valet, sentit, sapit." Bacch. iv. 7 (6). 18.

"Divus" occurs in Plautus seven or eight times. Once in the singular, applied to "Mercury"; Amph. Prol. 57, "Sed ego stultior, Quasi nesciam vos velle, qui divus siem." — The other instances are, Amph. v. 1. 69 (72). Cf. Rud. Prol. 9. — Aul. i. 1. 11. ii. 4. 20. Merc. [iii. 4. 12.] v. 2. 1. Mil. iii. 1. 135 (133).

The passages in Plautus in which particular deities are mentioned are quite numerous. The names of more than forty, "magni minutique," are given. It is quite time, however, without taking any further notice of these, to dismiss Plautus, and proceed to Terence.

In the singular number, in which it occurs in Terence but seven times, the word "deus" is used, —

1. In its ordinary sense of "a god," with reference to "Jupiter" previously mentioned. Eun. iii. 5. 40 — 43 : —

"Deum sese in hominem convertisse, atque per alienas tegulas
Venisse clanculum per impluvium, fucum factum mulieri.
At quem deum ? — Qui templa cœli summa sonitu concutit.
Ego homuncio hoc non facerem ?" *

2. Applied to the tutelary "dæmon" or "Genius" of a particular individual. Phorm. i. 2. 24, "Memini relinqui me deo irato meo." Compare Horace, Epist. ii. 2. 187, seqq. : —

"Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturæ deus humanæ, mortalis in unum-
Quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus et ater" ;

on which passage the note of Orelli may be consulted.

3. In the following passage, the reference is undetermined. Eun. v. 2. 36, "Quid si hoc quispiam voluit deus ?" — Some of the commentators compare Plaut. Aul. iv. 10. 7 (11), where, in somewhat similar circumstances, Lyconides says, "Deus impulsor mihi fuit" ; and, a little farther on, "Deos credo voluisse." See above, I. no. 2. p. 391.

4. Used metaphorically, to denote, first, "felicity." Hec. v. 4. 3, "Deus sum, si hoc ita est." Compare Andr. v.

* This passage is worthy of attention, as illustrating the pernicious moral tendency of the ancient Greek and Roman mythology. Compare Euripides, Ion, 449 — 451 : —

Οὐκέτ' ἀνθρώπους κακοὺς
λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακὰ
μιμούμεθ', ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδάσκοντας τάδε.

5. 3-5. Heaut. iv. 3. 15, and Boëthius, quoted by Mr. Norton : — "Omnis beatus, deus." — Secondly, "extraordinary excellence." Ad. iv. 1. 19, "Laudarier te audit libenter ; facio te apud illum deum ; Virtutes narro." — Thirdly, "bounty." Phorm. ii. 1 (2). 31, "Ea qui præbet, non tu hunc habeas plane præsentem deum ?"

In the plural, the word "deus" occurs in Terence one hundred and fourteen times. The examples of its use may be thus classified.

1. In exclamations of indignation, grief, astonishment, etc. ; as, "Pro deûm atque hominum fidem !" Andr. i. 5. 3 (2), 12 (11). Heaut. i. 1. 9. Hec. ii. 1. 1. — "Pro deûm fidem !" Eun. v. 5. 1 (4. 21). — "Pro deûm immortalium !" Phorm. ii. 2 (3). 4. — "[Pro] di immortales !" Ad. iii. 4. 1. Phorm. v. 8. 19. Eun. ii. 2. 1. — "Di boni !" Andr. ii. 2. 1. Eun. ii. 1. 19. Heaut. ii. 3. 13. Ad. iii. 3. 87 (86). — "Di vostram fidem !" Andr. iv. 3. 1. iv. 5 (4). 5. Eun. iii. 1. 28. iv. 7. 20. v. 4. 2. v. 9 (8). 19. Heaut. iii. 1. 96. Ad. iii. 3. 28 (27). Phorm. v. 1. 30. v. 3. 25. — "Di obsecro vos !" Phorm. v. 1. 13.

2. Asseverations ; as, "Ita me dii [bene] ament," or "amabunt." Andr. v. 4. 45 (44). Eun. iii. 2. 21. iv. 1. 1. v. 2. 43. v. 9 (8). 7. Heaut. ii. 3. 67. ii. 4. 3. iii. 1. 54 ("sic me," etc.). iii. 3. 8. iv. 3. 8. iv. 5. 1. v. 1. 80. Ad. iv. 7. 31. Phorm. i. 3. 13. v. 6. 44 (43). v. 7. 61. Hec. i. 2. 31. ii. 1. 9, 36. ii. 2. 16. ii. 3. 3. iv. 2. 3. iv. 4. 20. v. 4. 24. — "Per omnes tibi adjuvo deos." Andr. iv. 2. 11. — "Id testor deos." Hec. iii. 5. 26. — Ad. iv. 5. 66, "Di me, pater, Omnes oderint, ni magi' te, quam oculos nunc amo meos." See v. 7. 4, 5, and compare Gal. iv. 15, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες αὐν ἐδώκατέ μοι.

3. Entreaty ; as, "Per ego te deos oro." Andr. iii. 3. 6. v. 1. 15. — "Per deos atque homines." Phorm. v. 1. 37.

4. Imprecations ; as, "Di te perdant," or "perduint," and the like. Eun. ii. 3. 10 ("di deæque"). iii. 1. 41. Heaut. iv. 6. 6 ("omnes di, deæ"). Phorm. i. 2. 73. iv. 4. 6 ("omnes di deæque, superi, inferi"). Hec. i. 2. 59 ("di deæque"). iii. 4. 27. iii. 5. 19. — "Di te eradicent." Andr. iv. 5 (4). 22. Heaut. iii. 3. 29 (28). — "At tibi di dignum factis exitium duint," and the like. Andr. iv. 1. 43. Phorm. iii. 2. 34. v. 7. 83 ("di deæque omnes"). — "Di tibi malè faciant." Phorm. ii. 2 (3). 47.

5. Prayers and pious wishes ; as, "Deos quæso, ut," etc. Andr. iii. 2. 7. Ad. ii. 4. 11. iii. 1. 11. iii. 4. 45. — "Ita di faxint." Heaut. i. 1. 109. Hec. i. 2. 27 ("di deæque"). iii. 2. 19. — "Di tibi bene faxint." Ad. v. 7. 19. — "Di optata adferant." Ad. v. 9. 21. — "Di vortant bene," or "bene vortant." Eun. ii. 3. 98. Ad. iv. 7. 10. Phorm. iii. 3. 19. Hec. i. 2. 121. — "Di melius duint." Phorm. v. 8. 16. — "Di prohibeant." Andr. iii. 3. 36. Hec. ii. 1. 10. Heaut. v. 4. 15, "Sos. Di istæc. Ch. Deos nescio ; ego, quod potero, enitar sedulo." — "Di date facultatem," etc. Andr. i. 4. 5. — "Deos comprecare." Ad. iv. 5. 65, 70.

6. Other recognitions of the concern of the gods in human affairs ; as, "Diis gratias" or "gratiam habeo, ago." Andr. iv. 5 (4). 31. Phorm. iv. 2. 6. v. 7. 1. Hec. iii. 2. 11. iv. 4. 31. — "Dis gratia," etc. Ad. i. 2. 41, 58. — "Deos gratulando obtundere." Heaut. v. 1. 6. (Comp. Matthew vi. 7.) — "Id spero adjuturos deos." Andr. iii. 2. 42. — "Dii irati." Andr. iv. 1. 40. — "Di propitii." Phorm. iv. 3. 31, "Satin' illi di sunt propitii ?" i. e. Satin' mente sanus est ? — "Di nos respiciunt." Andr. iv. 1. 18. v. 3. 34. Hec. v. 2. 5 (6), "Nec pol istæ metuunt deos, neque has respicere deos opinor." — "Quem diligunt dii," and the like. Andr. v. 6. 9. Phorm. v. 6. 15 (14). — "Quantum di dant opis tibi." Heaut. iii. 3. 32 (31). — "Si dis placet" (ironical). Eun. v. 3. 10. Ad. iii. 4. 30. — "Credebas dormienti hæc tibi confecturos deos ?" Ad. iv. 5. 59. — "In me plane dii potestatem suam Omnem ostendere, cui tam subito tot congruerint comoda." Eun. v. 9 (8). 2.

7. Miscellaneous examples. — Phorm. i. 5 (ii. 1). 81, "Deos penateis hinc salutatum Domum divortor" [al. "devortar"]. — Andr. v. 5. 3 - 5, —

"Ego vitam deorum propterea sempiternam esse arbitror,
Quodd voluptates eorum propriæ sunt; nam mihi immortalitas
Parta est, si huic nulla ægritudo gaudio intercesserit."

Compare Heaut. iv. 3. 15, "Deorum vitam adepti [al. "apti"] sumus."

"Dea" occurs in Terence, in the plural, six times. All the examples are given above, nos. 4 and 5.

"Divus," once. Ad. iv. 7. 28, "Pro divûm fidem !"

We will now give all the examples which we have noticed in Terence of reference to particular deities.

Jupiter's name occurs twenty-one times ; fourteen in the mere exclamation, "O Jupiter !" or "Pro Jupiter !" once (Ad. ii. 1. 42), "Pro supreme Jupiter !" and once (Eun. iv. 4. 42), "Jupiter magne !" — The remaining instances are, Eun. iii. 5. 36. v. 9. 18, "O Jupiter, Serva obsecro hæc nobis bona." — Ad. iv. 6. 2, "Te magnus perdat Jupiter !" — Phorm. v. 3. 24, "At ita me servet Jupiter, ut," etc. — Heaut. v. 4. 12, 13, "Non si ex capite sis meo Natus, item ut aiunt Minervam esse ex Jove," etc.

"Juno Lucina" is twice invoked. Andr. iii. 1. 15 ; Ad. iii. 4. 41. — "Neptune" is mentioned once. Ad. v. 3. 4, "O maria Neptuni !" — "Apollo" once. Andr. iv. 2. 15. — "Non Apollinis magi' verum atque hoc responsum est." — "Diana" once. Ad. iv. 2. 43, "Ubi ad Dianæ veneris." — "Minerva" once. See under Jupiter. — "Ceres," "Bacchus," and "Venus," in the proverb, Eun. iv. 5. 6, "Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus." — "Hercules" once. Eun. v. 8. 3, "Qui minus huic [serviam] quam Hercules servivit Omphalæ ?" — "Æsculapius" and "Salus," Hec. iii. 2. 2, 3. "Malè metuo, ne Philumenæ magis morbus aggravescat : Quod te, Æsculapi, et te, Salus, ne quid sit hujus, oro." Salus is also mentioned, Ad. iv. 7. 43, "Ipsa, si cupiat, Salus Servare prorsus hanc familiam non potest." Compare Plaut. Capt. iii. 3. 14. — So "Fortuna," or "Fors Fortuna," Eun. v. 9. 16. "An Fortunam collaudem, quæ gubernatrix fuit, Quæ tot res, tantas, tam opportunè in unum conclusit diem ?" — Phorm. v. 6. 1, 2. "O Fortuna ! O Fors Fortuna ! quantis commoditatibus, Quàm subito meo hero Antiphoni ope vestrà hunc onerâstis diem !" — In the following examples, it may be doubted whether "fors" and "fortuna" are proper or common names. Phorm. i. 4. 26, "Fortes fortuna adjuvat." — Phorm. i. 2. 88, "Quod fors feret, feremus æquo animo." * — Hec. iii. 3. 26, "Quæquæ fors fortuna est, inquit, nobis quæ te hodie obtulit, Per eam te obsecramus ambæ," etc. In this passage, there appears to be a confusion of language appropriate and inappropriate to Fortune conceived of as a real person.

There is perhaps hardly any subject more worthy of the

* This passage may throw light on the probable etymology of "fors." "Fors" unexpectedly *brings* something upon us ; while, to illustrate by its opposite, "Consilium" leads us to an object already in view.

attention of one who is studying the history of opinions, than the tendency of the human mind to transform mere figures of speech into literal truths, and to convert abstractions into independent existences. There has been no more fruitful source of error in philosophy or theology. The mind passes, with a fatal facility, from the simple personification of an abstract idea or general law, to the belief in its existence as a real agent, possessing inherent power ; or it may be unconsciously vacillating between the conception of some object as a mere attribute and as an actual person. Entranced by vivid imaginations, while realities fade from its view, it forgets that it has created and endued with activity the bright forms that fascinate its gaze.

The ambiguity and imperfection of language have also contributed to this illusion. Thus, to take an illustration from the word which has suggested these remarks, an event may be said to happen "casu," or "forte fortunâ," "by chance," or "by fortune" ; the expression simply denoting the unexpectedness of its occurrence, and our ignorance of its cause. But the ablative case in Latin, like the preposition "by" in English, is used not only to denote the manner in which an event takes place, but also the agency by which it is produced ; and it is easy to see how readily, in consequence, one might slide into the conception of Chance or Fortune, as a real, independent power, effecting changes in the condition of men.

The tendency of which we have spoken, to transmute figures of speech into facts, and to give

"to airy nothing,
A local habitation and a name,

has evidently had a great influence in the formation of various systems both of heathen mythology and of ancient philosophy. It characterizes the philosophy of Plato ; for his *Ideas* were but abstractions converted into living beings. We may see an illustration of it in the vague notion, yet prevalent, of *Nature* as an agent possessing inherent power. The history of theological opinions, however, affords, perhaps, the most remarkable examples of its operation ; for, as Le Clerc justly observes in a chapter of his "*Ars Critica*" which is not yet obsolete, — "*Theologi non minus loqui amant quàm Philosophi, de iis quæ non intelligunt.*"* It has, in short, been

* *Ars Critica*, P. ii. S. i. C. ix., *De Nominibus Nihili*, or "On Words that mean Nothing," § 15.

a principal occasion and distinguishing characteristic of the mysticism in which dreamers of all ages have revelled.*

E. A.

ART. V. — SACRED MUSIC.†

COLLECTIONS of sacred music are often little else than reprints of previous collections. Indeed, we know of but two,‡ of the many which have been published in this country, which profess to consist of strictly original matter. This is to be regretted, inasmuch as the music which is the most popular already exists in cheap and easily attainable forms, and the space which it occupies might be filled with new and more desirable compositions.

The *matériel* for a good collection of sacred music is varied and abundant. Of the rich repository of English cathedral music which has been accumulating from the period of the Reformation to the present time, very little has been republished in this country. The compositions of Tallis, Farrant, Blow, Purcell, Croft, Weldon, King, Boyce, Attwood, and Callcott are seldom met with, except in the library of the musical professor. For classical harmonies and beautiful melodies, they fully equal the complicated productions of Spohr and Schneider. The compositions of the German and Italian writers for the Church of Rome are as yet unpublished here. The music of that Church, as seen in the successive

* For some curious illustrations of this subject, we may refer to the account of the speculations of the theosophic Gnostics, in Vol. III. of the work which we have already so freely quoted. See also Norton's "Statement of Reasons," Section X.

† 1. *The National Psalmist; a Collection of the most Popular and Useful Psalm and Hymn Tunes; together with a Great Variety of New Tunes, Anthems, Sentences, and Chants; the whole forming a most Complete Manual of Church Music for Choirs, Congregations, Singing-Schools, and Musical Associations.* By LOWELL MASON and GEORGE JAMES WEBB. Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, & Mason. Oblong 4to. pp. 352.

2. *The Choir Chorus-Book; a Collection of Choruses from the Works of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Cherubini, Mendelssohn, Spohr, Romberg, Neukomm, Rossini, and other distinguished Composers.* Compiled, adapted to English Words, and arranged with particular Reference to Choir Practice, and for the Use of Musical Societies. By A. N. JOHNSON, Editor of "The Boston Musical Gazette," etc., etc. Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co. 1848. Oblong 4to. pp. 284.

‡ "The American Harp" and "The Beethoven Collection"

productions of Palestrina, Jomelli, Hasse, Perez, Haydn, Mozart, Salieri, and Sarti, is unsurpassed in all the true and proper characteristics of sacred music. The "Vierstimmige Choralgesänge" of John Sebastian Bach, and the impressive chorals of the other celebrated composers for the Lutheran Church, are almost entirely unknown. The lovers of a pure and beautiful style of ecclesiastical music will find among the compositions of these masters psalms, hymns, and anthems composed in the style *alla capella*, for any number of voices, with or without an accompaniment for the organ, in strict or free counterpoint. It is a matter of regret, that the editors of music-books in this country have not availed themselves more largely of this plenteous harvest ; it is only by widely diffusing music of this class that the popular taste can be refined and elevated.

"The National Psalmist" appears to have been intended for the use of the congregation rather than the choir. It was the design, when metrical psalmody was originally introduced into Protestant churches, that it should be performed by the congregation. This was the intention of Luther and the early Reformers, as well as afterwards of the Church of England and the Dissenters. In England, at the present day, the music of the cathedral is performed by a double choir of professional singers, while the music of the parish church is performed by the congregation. In one of the earliest collections of psalm-tunes, that of Thomas Est, published in 1592, the author says, — "The tunes are composed into foure parts, and so placed that all may sing that part which is fittest for their voice." At the time of the publication of this book, the knowledge of music was far more general than at present. The singing-book was found in every pew, and was generally used. At present, so few of a mixed congregation are able to sing, that the expedient of introducing congregational singing into our churches seems to us impracticable. When vocal music is taught as a distinct branch in our schools, and when the pupils are as familiar with their note-books as with their arithmetics, then we may hope that all will be able to join in this delightful part of worship. But till then, it seems the wisest course, if we would mind the injunction of the Apostle, when he says, "Let every thing be done decently and in order," to intrust the performance of the music to the choir.

The tunes in "The National Psalmist" have been selected

and composed in accordance with this intention of introducing congregational singing. The harmonies and melodies are of the plainest and simplest kind. Selections have been made from the rare collection of Est, before referred to; from "The Whole Book of Psalmes, etc., by Thomas Ravenscroft, 1621"; from Playford's "Psalms and Hymns in Solemn Musick, 1667"; and from "The Wittenberg Collection, 1543." We also notice tunes which appeared in "Les Psaumes de David, mis en Musique à quatre et cinq Parties, par Claudin le Jeune, Genève, 1627." These selections, together with the standard tunes of a more modern date, form the principal part of the book. The original pieces are written in accordance with the old church style.

We notice a few pieces which are not of a strictly *sacred* character. On page 147 is a tune arranged from an air in Handel's *Sosarmes*, and adapted to the hymn commencing,

"To God in whom I trust."

This beautiful melody, so well known under its English name of "Lord, remember David," was originally set to the following verse:—

"Rendi 'l sereno al ciglio;
Madre, non pianger più.
Temer d' alcun periglio
Oggi come puoi tu?"

"This," says one, "is a tender and soothing address to a mother by a daughter, and, when sung with the original words, full effect is given to the beauty as well as the grace of the melody; both of which are, in a great measure, destroyed by the English poetry. So much is this the case, that 'Rendi 'l sereno al ciglio' and 'Lord, remember David' are seldom recognized as the same music. Many other of Handel's Italian opera airs have been wedded to sacred English poetry, thus destroying the exquisite beauty and design of the original. The music of the celebrated anthem, 'Holy, holy Lord God Almighty,' is taken from an air in his *Rodelinda*, 'Dove sei, amato bene,' which is addressed to a lover by his mistress. 'We know this beautiful air,' to quote the words of another,* 'only in the cold, measured style in which we hear it sung at our sacred music meetings; but imagine it breathed by a Grisi in her most passionate accents, and we shall conceive its true meaning and expression.'

* Hogarth, *Memoirs of the Musical Drama*.

“ It is not the Italian opera airs themselves we object to (for those we have cited above are perfect gems), but it is the associations connected with them. A familiar melody suggests a crowd of recollections, whether heard in the church or in the opera. The prayer from *Zampa*,* for example, is sung to sacred English verse frequently in our churches. How unlike the proper feelings for the church must be those which this piece suggests to one familiar with the opera! The subject of the drama in many respects resembles that of *Don Giovanni*. The hero, Zampa, is a libertine, who, after indulging in every species of wickedness, is at last stopped short in his course, and consigned to the infernal regions by the statue of a deceived mistress, on whose finger he has, in a thoughtless moment, placed a ring.” †

The editors of this book have labored under a great difficulty in writing metrical tunes, from the fact that many of the hymns in general use are written in metres which are singularly inappropriate. Our lyrical poets seem to have forgotten that their productions must be adapted to the choir as well as to the pulpit. We often meet with a hymn, unexceptionable in other respects, rendered unfit for use by the unfortunate character of its metre. The sensitive ear is continually offended by the want of euphony and the misplacing of the accent in the verse. The iambic forms of metre are better adapted to sacred verse than the anapæstic and dactylic. However well these last mentioned may answer for the more fanciful and lighter kinds of poetry, they are unsuited to the solemnity and dignity of worship. On the 237th page is a hymn of this class : —

“ Forgive my folly,
O Lord, most holy,
Cleanse me from every stain :
For thee I languish ;
Pity my anguish,
Nor let my sighing be vain.

“ Deeply repenting,
Sorely lamenting,
All my departures from thee :
And now returning,
Thine absence mourning,
Lord show thy mercy to me.”

* On pages 194 and 298 are selections from Herold's Operas.

† American Review for June, 1848, p. 654.

On the 227th page we find a hymn in 8's metre that is peculiarly harsh :—

“ O come, let us sing to the Lord,
In God, our salvation, rejoice ;
In psalms of thanksgiving record
His praise with one spirit and voice.”

On the 219th page is a hymn written in 6's, 7's, and 8's, which is too light a measure for sacred poetry. We quote the first stanza :—

“ Hark ! hark ! a shout of joy !
The world, the world is calling !
In east and west, in north and south,
See Satan's kingdom falling !
Wake ! wake ! the Church of God,
And dissipate thy slumbers ! ”

On the 238th page the compilers have given a well-known hymn in 12's metre, which, from the light and rapid movement produced by the frequent recurrence of dactyls, reminds one of Virgil's

“ *Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.* ”

This kind of verse is only suitable to express joyous sentiments. For a glee in $\frac{6}{8}$ time it would be very apposite. We quote the first stanza :—

“ The voice of free grace cries, ‘ Escape to the mountain ;
For Adam's lost race Christ has opened a fountain ;
For sin and uncleanness, for every transgression,
His blood flows most freely in streams of salvation. ’ ”

In harmonizing the vocal score, the editors have written the several parts too *low*. We think the value of the book is greatly impaired by this fact. Not only are many of the tunes rendered comparatively useless, but, when they are used, it must be to the detriment of the vocal organs. Each one of the several species of voice has a compass, the limits of which must be rigorously observed. If transgressed, the qualities of a good tone are destroyed. Instead of sustaining a pure, firm, and even tone, the voice wavers and becomes husky. On this point the editors of a recent collection * make the following just remarks :—

* The Beethoven Collection.

“In harmonizing the vocal score, especial reference has been had to the register of voices in the several parts; a subject in relation to which we think there has been great error, much to the injury of the vocal organs. The Soprani have been made to sing Contralto, — the Contralti to sing Tenore, — the Tenori to sing Baritone, — and the Bassi to sing so low that they could produce no clearness of tone. Consequently the beautiful soprano quality of the female voice, and the rich, reedy quality of the Italian tenor, have given place to that execrable bellowing from the throat, which, in the female voice, is called by some the *falsestto*. It is the quality of voice employed by sweeps, and other bawlers in the street, where alone it is appropriate. For a soprano singer to use it at all is to ruin the scale of the voice. The same may be said of the tenor.”

The editors have arranged the tunes with a “figured” bass, instead of writing a separate accompaniment for the organ. This practice is common with editors in this part of the country, but it is one which cannot be too strongly reprehended. By this method the organist confines himself only to the text of the composer, so far as to perform the leading melody and the bass as the author has written them; the subordinate parts he supplies as caprice or fancy dictates. When confined to a written accompaniment, he *disperses* the harmony as the author has written it. The tenor is written on the G clef throughout the book, instead of on its proper clef. Why this is done, — why the editors have so far disregarded the rules of musical composition as to violate one of the most prominent of them, — we are at a loss to imagine.

Among the various collections which have been published, — and, if collected, they would form a *bibliotheca copiosissima*, — not one has been compiled with especial reference to the wants of Unitarian congregations. This is to be wondered at, inasmuch as hymn-books, service-books, etc., have been published in great numbers; so extensively, indeed, that many societies are supplied with them of their own compilation. The productions of Frothingham, Furness, Follen, Norton, Bulfinch, Gilman, and Ware have furnished us with some of the finest hymns in the English language. Selections have also been made from the Scriptures, adapted to the purposes of chanting. But still we have no music-book to which the strains of “our own sweet singers” may be adapted. The want of a suitable book has long been felt and lamented by our clergymen. Those in common use

contain words and sentiments directly at variance with our faith, and doctrines which are offensive to our reason and judgment.

The materials of the second book noticed at the commencement of our article have been drawn from the best sources. Judicious selections have been made from the Oratorios and Masses of the classical composers. It was intended to meet the wants which have necessarily arisen from an increased diffusion of musical knowledge. And while it brings sterling music within the reach of the multitude, it convinces them that compositions adapted to their acquirements may yet possess the highest order of excellence. It comprises selections from the sacred compositions of the most celebrated writers of different styles, ages, and nations, offering specimens of the Italian, German, English, and French schools; the majority of which are from the works of Haydn and Mozart. The sacred compositions of these masters, especially their Masses, will be used and admired as long as music shall be employed in worship as an exponent of devotional sentiment and feeling. Among the voluminous compositions of the writers belonging to the Church of Rome, from the time of Palestrina to the present day, they have maintained an undisputed preëminence. Yet, on account of the words to which they were originally written, these deservedly celebrated compositions have been excluded from general use. The Protestants of Germany have long been accustomed to use versions of their own, written in their own language. This plan has been partially followed in England. Mozart's "Requiem" was performed at the Norwich and Worcester Musical Festivals, in the year 1836, adapted to English words.

The editor is deserving of praise for the taste and judgment he has evinced in selecting and arranging the contents of the book. It is only to be regretted that he was obliged, by the arrangements of his publishers, to omit the instrumental accompaniments to many of the pieces; the vocal score of an Oratorio or a Mass without them stands in unfortunate contrast with the grandeur and design of the original composition.

F. F. H.

ART. VI.—FRENCH LITERATURE AND THE FRENCH PULPIT.*

As the struggle between the antagonist elements of modern society — the great contest of ideas and of interests, whose result is to determine the civilization of future ages, while its violence distinguishes our own — has been carried on, for the last twenty years, with greater energy in France than elsewhere, so the literature of France, faithfully representing the condition of the national mind and heart, has been marked, during the same period, by a depth of feeling, a vigor of intellect, an intensity of purpose, that give it a thoroughly individual and most important character. When Napoleon was convulsing Europe, the lofty thinkers of Germany, absorbed in profound contemplations, gave as little heed to the descending rays of their own influence as to the storm raging around them; and it was only the most practically patriotic of their number who discerned in the enthusiastic declamations of St. Just, and the proclamations of the Committee of Public Safety, the inspiration of his own ideas. The insular pride and contemptuous calmness of England enabled her writers to produce mediæval romances, and passionate poetry, and antiquarian reviews, in the face of a threatened invasion. But France, standing in the centre of the great movement, and pouring out from her own life the energies which impelled it, found no time for philosophic speculation or literary research. And when the factitious calm of the Restoration was broken up, a new phase of the contest appeared, — enrolling an army of students instead of conscripts, replacing the baton of the marshal by the pen of the author, and absorbing the most powerful genius of the people in the great warfare of society. Literature became the high road to distinction and to power, the great writer wielded the revenues and commanded the retainers of the feudal baron, and not a year has passed since

* 1. *Modern French Literature.* By L. RAYMOND DE VÉRICOUR, formerly Lecturer in the Royal Athenæum, Paris, Author of "*Milton et la Poésie Épique*," Member of the Historical Institute of France, etc., etc. Revised, with Notes, alluding particularly to Writers prominent in the late Political Events in Paris. By WM. STAUGHTON CHASE, A. M. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1848. 12mo. pp. 448.

2. *The Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland. Sketches of their Character, and Specimens of their Eloquence.* By REV. ROBERT TURNBULL, Author of "*The Genius of Scotland*," etc. New York: R. Carter. 1848. 12mo. pp. 341.

the banishment of Charles X. without calling forth, from among the multitude of ambitious young men who swarm from the provinces into Paris, some new aspirant, eager to assume and worthy to wear the insignia of this new nobility. The ordinary criticism of superficiality and frivolity, with which the Anglo-Saxon public, on both sides of the Atlantic, has so long excused its ignorance and justified its hereditary scorn of French literature, has been sternly set aside. And the position assigned to France by Guizot, as the heart of modern civilization, has been proved to be hers, not more clearly by her practical assertion of the highest truths of political and social science, than by the intellectual ability which has directed and controlled her course.

History, political economy, social and physical science, — over these subjects, that bear directly upon the questions which are agitating the inmost soul of this generation, her thinkers have poured a flood of light. In the department of history alone, the names of Guizot, the Thierry's, Sismondi, De Barante, Thiers, Michelet, Louis Blanc, Lamartine, impose on foreign rivalry a severe task. To enumerate the second-rate historians, or the men whom genius and erudition have made eminent in the other branches to which we have alluded, would be a labor of pedantry as superfluous as unpleasant. Nor has the electric force expended itself on those points which have more immediate relations with the vital action of modern society. Philosophy, within and without the Eclectic school, has enriched the world, not only with valuable original productions worthy of the nineteenth century, but with a body of translations of the most durable importance. In poetry, Lamartine, till in the "*Chute d'un Ange*" he sank the poet in the pantheist; Victor Hugo, elaborate and impressive in the "*Orientales*," chastened and tender in the "*Feuilles d'Automne*," magnificent and enthusiastic in "*Les Rayons et les Ombres*"; De Vigny, always graceful and pleasing; Béranger, brilliant, daring, and powerful, — are no ordinary luminaries, even if they serve only to enlighten comparative darkness. The drama, besides the extravagant nonsense, the unintelligible absurdities, which deform the modern French stage, has produced, in the best tragedies of Victor Hugo and De Vigny, and the many admirable plays of the prolific Scribe, cheering auguries of better days, — auguries which receive new force from the courageous and successful attempt of De Vigny, Barbier, and De Wailly to

introduce into France the master-spirit of the modern drama, and from the growing number by whom the great English "*barbare*" has been acknowledged in his legitimate sovereignty. But, future progress apart, was not a great triumph actually gained for common sense and nature, when the stiffly rhymed pomposities of the old French tragedy, with its detestable "unities" and its nondescript *dramatis personæ*, were driven for ever from the stage? Certainly the disgusting horrors of "Le Roi s'amuse," or "La Tour de Nesle," or "Richard d'Arlington," are sufficiently shocking; but in the energetic action and passionate language which the Romantic writers substituted for the preposterous plots and twaddling talk of kings and *confidens*, in such plays as the "Sylla" of Jouy or the "Agamemnon" of Lemercier, nay, (with reverence be it spoken,) in supplanting the eloquent declamations and elegiac elegance of the "Cid" or "Andromaque" by the words and deeds of possible human beings, they did good service to the cause of the drama, and deserve the praise of all sensible men. Nor let us forget what clouds attended the rise of the great sun of Shakspeare, or what hideous deformities, obscured by time to the general eye, are revealed to those who penetrate the dark places of our own dramatic literature. How long is it since "Titus Andronicus" was indignantly rejected from among the children of the great bard?

The same influence which aroused the sleeping spirit of the stage in France has inspired a new order of writers of romance, — a class of authors, whose worst productions, often shamelessly travestied, have been presented to the public of our own country as the embodiments of the French spirit in our day, but whose best works, while they need fear little in a comparison of principle with the most recent novels of English origin (those of Dickens always excepted), demand a much higher consideration on the score of ability. For, not to speak of that extraordinary woman who, in the first tumult of indignation and liberty, exposed with so fearless and so rash a hand the secret workings of a heart tortured into disease and agony by the tyranny of a depraved social order, who, since that time, as freedom and thought brought her calmness and faith, has earnestly labored to remove the sources of her own suffering and of that of so many others, less powerful, but not less injured, and who alike in her frenzy and her serenity has displayed an artistic skill, a power of

intellectual fascination, a living genius, which raise her productions to the rank of poetry, — nor of Victor Hugo, the prince of romantic fiction, — where shall we seek the compeers of the hundred-handed Dumas, always unscrupulous and always energetic, — of Eugene Sue, with his harrowing power, and his voluptuous philanthropy, — of Balzac, whose keen, observing genius merits the epithets bestowed by Virgil on his own favorite theme ?

Such are some of the claims of recent French literature upon our attention ; and yet how few, comparatively, are the persons who thoroughly appreciate its treasures, or do justice to the extent and importance of its influence ! To many Americans a French book is only another name for a repository of immoralities, and to that generalizing criticism which has identified in meaning the words “ German theologian ” and “ neologist,” Paris is the modern Capua, whence nothing good or great can possibly proceed. Prepossessions, reasonable enough in their origin, have conspired with that pressure of professional and social duties, which confines the majority of our cultivated men to a comparatively narrow field of study, to exclude this vast and rich literature from the sympathies which it must surely awaken. Besides, as Mr. Carlyle somewhere says, “ strange things are apt, without any fault of theirs, to estrange us at first sight ” ; and, thanks to certain theories, strange, indeed, and imperfectly understood, and therefore strongly abhorred, a vague impression has been made on the popular mind, that those Frenchmen who are not sensualists are socialists, — words whereof it is hard to say which conveys the more reproach.

As a bringer of light into this darkness, then, we do cordially welcome M. de Véricour’s excellent sketch of modern French literature, greatly improved by the care and enriched by the learning of Mr. Chase. The original work, we are informed, was drawn up for the Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh, in the hope that it “ might help to promote a good understanding between France and England.” In an equally enlightened spirit, the American publishers have encouraged Mr. Chase to devote so much labor to the revision of the style and the extension of the matter of the volume, that the American people now possess a reliable source of information with regard to the contemporaneous literature of a country, their sympathy with which, already well founded in gratitude and long friendly intercourse, can only be deepened and

enlarged by closer acquaintance. Commencing with a slight account of the development of the French language, from the time of Villehardouin to that of Voltaire, M. de Véricour proceeds to give an account of the reigning literary style and thought of the last century, and is thus brought to the opening of his immediate subject. This he divides into seven heads, — Intellectual Philosophy, Politics, Criticism, History, Romance, the Drama, and Poetry, — devoting two chapters to Politics, two to History, and one to each of the others. This plan, it will be seen, is not, by any means, a scientific one, nor is the impression made upon the mind of a reader not familiar with French literature likely to be as distinct and available as might be wished. The chronological order is not followed in the several chapters, and that misuse of the book for the purposes of reference, which Mr. Hallam deprecates with regard to his own *History of European Literature*, would be out of the question, even with the aid of an index. On the whole, however, the main purpose of such a publication at present, namely, to impress the general mind with a conviction of the existence and excellence of modern French literature, must be well fulfilled by this sketch; and after a few brief remarks on one or two of the prominent topics of which it treats, we shall leave it, with our hearty good wishes, to that favorable public judgment which the editor (whose notes are judiciously placed in a body at the end of the work) richly deserves and may reasonably anticipate.*

In philosophical faith M. de Véricour is a devout Eclectic, and a large part of the chapter on Intellectual Philosophy is occupied with an analysis of M. Cousin's system, which bears in every line the trace of the scholar's grateful admiration. Mr. Chase has commented very justly, in a note, upon the impossibility of rescuing M. Cousin's system from the charge of pantheism; † though that charge, as we think, does

* A number of typographical errors, which we have observed, we hope to see corrected in a future edition. The name of De Vigny's play, "Le Maréchal d'Ancre," for example, is constantly printed "*Marechale* d'Ancre."

† We must be permitted to express our regret that Mr. Chase should have allowed himself to adopt the language of a vague, unworthy prejudice against a great philosopher. The "identification of God with the abstract idea of substance," if it mean any thing, is most solemnly expressed in the mighty word "Jehovah." It surely is not, in any bad sense possible, the doctrine of Spinoza. Without assuming the extreme positions of Herder, we are experimentally satisfied that the best refutation of the charges against Spinoza is to be found in the fact, that they cannot be clearly stat-

not rest on his doctrine of inspiration, which can be explained in accordance with the theory of revelation, but on his notion of God, which makes the Divine life to consist wholly in the movement of unity to multiplicity and of multiplicity back to unity ; so that, to use his own words, " God is beginning, middle, and end, at the summit of being and at its lowest step, — infinite and finite, — a triplicity, God, Nature, and Humanity." The Eclectic system, however, hardly needs to be assaulted in this country. It rests on a series of philosophical traditions which we do not possess. In France, the Eclectic appeared as a late result of civilization, a sort of philosophical *chiffonier*, and after proving false by turns to every system, and shrinking from every profound question, has at last disappeared before the advancing spirit of earnestness and sincerity. M. de Véricour's notice of Leroux does credit to his candor, and, excepting the unaccountable omission of Auguste Comte (an omission which Mr. Chase has supplied), the chapter on Intellectual Philosophy is as satisfactory an outline of the subject as could have been expected.

In his sketch of the political and social writers of his country, M. de Véricour has shown an impartiality worthy of all praise. The account of St. Simon, Fourier, and their followers, to which Mr. Chase has appended some remarks, which, if not profound, are, at least, liberal and sensible, especially deserves notice ; although, with an evident desire to be just and clear, the author has but clouded still further a subject not wanting in obscurity, and has expended his criticism on points wholly unessential. His whole account of Fourier's system, for example, is based, not on its principles, but on those details which do not at all affect the substantial merits of a movement, whose extent and energy are among the most striking and important phenomena of our day. The reference to the work of M. Louis Reybaud as an authority with respect to the Socialists will be sufficiently surprising to those who are acquainted with its character, or even with the *feuilleton* which that gentleman has published since the Days of June.

We had marked several other passages that seemed to call for comment ; but we willingly yield to the necessity which our limits impose, and relinquish the unpleasant task of point-

ed in consistency with his language, without losing the character of reproaches.

ing out the deficiencies of a book which possesses so many high qualities as that of M. de Véricour, to perform the more agreeable duty of expressing our hope, that a writer who has shown himself so capable of good things as Mr. Chase will not long delay to redeem the pledge which he has thereby given to the public. His spirited sketch of the Provisional Government cannot fail to do much good. His account of Lamartine, especially, is highly honorable to his discernment and his character. It is truly gratifying that so brave a testimony should be borne now, when a great and good man has been overwhelmed by the waves of faction and tumult; when the prejudiced and deluded multitude, and the mob of ordinary statesmen, are rejoicing together over the fall of a truly Christian politician, — a fall attributable in part to the dissensions and violence of his colleagues, overpowering the wise control by which he sought to direct their contending energies into channels innocuous, if not beneficial to the state, in part to the cowardly manœuvring of the reactionists, but mainly, we doubt not, to his own high-minded consistency, — to a spiritual sense of honor, which refused to disown the generous enthusiasm of his poet soul, to deny that noble Marseillaise of peace : —

“ Nations ! mot pompeux pour dire la barbarie,
L’amour s’arrête-t-il ou s’arrêtent vos pas ?
Déchirez ces drapeaux ; une autre voix vous crie,
L’égoïsme et la haine ont seuls une patrie,
La fraternité n’en a pas ! ”

“ The eloquence of the pulpit,” says M. de Véricour, “ is now, we may say, completely null.” The oratorical genius which formerly thundered from the Christian pulpit has betaken itself to the bar and the senate. The successors of Massillon, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Saurin content themselves chiefly with the study of their illustrious models, while the living power of those great men is reproduced in such speakers as Berryer, Guizot, Odillon Barrot, and Roger Collard. Yet the churches of France, Catholic and Protestant, are not destitute of preachers, eloquent, high-souled, influential. Mr. Turnbull’s work on “ The Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland ” gives us biographical sketches and selected sermons of six such men. Of these, five represent the Protestant body, — Vinet, Monod, Grandpierre, Merle d’Aubigné, and Gaussen, while Lacordaire, the famous Dominican of Paris, upholds the mantle of the great

Gallican fathers. One name, our readers will see with surprise, is omitted from this catalogue. M. Athanase Coquerel, distinguished alike for eloquence and learning, popular and powerful in the church and in the halls of legislation, has one fault, unpardonable, it would appear, in the eyes of our neighbour. He does not subscribe to the "Evangelical" creed; and though the excellent M. Monod is not thereby prevented from coöperating with him in the offices of the Christian ministry, Mr. Turnbull cannot admit the heretic into the circle of his literary sympathies, — a circle whose limits, we are compelled to feel, are coincident with those of his sectarian attachments. For the faults of this book are positive as well as negative. Lacordaire admitted fares worse than Coquerel excluded. Not only is the biographical notice a sort of indictment against him, but his homily is interspersed with "reflections" by the editor. Such bold intrusions of religious prejudice into the domain of criticism are more worthy of the Middle Ages than of the nineteenth century, of Caliph Omar than of a Christian scholar.

Vinet, who stands first on Mr. Turnbull's list of modern preachers, is somewhat known in this country by that gentleman's translation of his work on "Vital Christianity." In France he held the highest rank as a scholar and a critic, while his book, "*Sur la Liberté des Cultes*," which deserves to be read wherever freedom and virtue are beloved, will consecrate his memory as a fearless defender of the rights of conscience. Mr. Chase thus speaks of his merits: —

"Alexandre Vinet will be honored by posterity as one of the foremost men of the nineteenth century. To a clear sense of religious liberty and the rights of conscience (for which he made sacrifices as well as wrote), to a profound acquaintance with theology and Christian ethics, and to rare æsthetic and metaphysical acumen, he added 'that which passeth understanding.' No master of the French language since the days of Pascal, whom he at once admired and resembled, has presented a more perfect combination of high intellectual and moral endowments. A native of Switzerland, which has nearer affinities to Germany than to France, his studies enabled him to imbibe the spirit of the respective literatures of both those countries. The professorship which he long held at Basle placed him in a favorable position for intellectual development. He could then draw, with equal facility, from two abundant sources of philosophy and literature. He read Pascal and Lessing, Bossuet and Herder, Voltaire and

Goethe, Racine and Schiller, Guizot and Müller, Chateaubriand and Schelling, taking from each side whatever suited his own genius. His works, consequently, offer a judicious mixture of French vivacity and German seriousness. They unite the extensive erudition and elevated views which characterize the writers beyond the Rhine, with the charms of style, the exquisite *Atticism*, which belong to the writers of France." — pp. 424, 425.

Mr. Turnbull's notice of this eminent man places his private character in the most pleasing light. The following extract from his sermon, — "The Three Awakenings," — though obscured by faults of translation, will give some idea of his vivid and forcible diction : —

"But as in the body there are chronic and acute maladies, so in the soul there are chronic and acute forms of despair. To choose between them is not absolutely in our power; our constitution, circumstances, and the will of God decide in such a case. One thing is always certain, — that very frequently in the most common and tranquil situations we are separated from the most violent despair, very much as the mariner is separated from the abyss, by the thickness of two fingers. The thousand upon thousand distractions which succeed each other, and which make of life only one long distraction, our natural levity, some obstinate passion, protect us from our conscience. During the night we walk with a free and firm step in a path which at daybreak we should contemplate with horror; for that path was only a narrow pass between two abysses. It was our temerity that saved us; and we have escaped from danger because we did not see it. But when we are compelled to see it; when, in spite of our worldly engagements, some cause or other tears us from our delusions; when the vanity of all we have desired, loved, and admired, overwhelms us with its evidence; when the meaning of life escapes us, or appears appalling to our minds; when, descending anew to the depths of our consciousness, we find there nothing but sin; when reason, vexed, compels us to doubt of God, or, restored to its natural light, announces to us an avenging God, — then in that immensity, either void of God, or filled with his wrath, an agony of heart seizes us, the spirit is confounded, the vast universe is nothing more than a dungeon, whose iron gates resist all our efforts; the past and the present fill us with horror, the future appalls us; and yet, as if to hasten it, or rather, perhaps, to escape from the present at any price, we cast ourselves into the arms of death, without ever asking ourselves if that pretended sleep will not prove an awaking, an awaking more complete, consequently a more complete despair. Our sleep protected us, — our awaking has ruined us.

"Some of you, my brethren, may have read, a few years ago, the history of a young somnambulist, who, one dark night, issued through the skylight of a little chamber which she occupied in the roof, and, sound asleep, walked a long time on the tiles, in sight of a trembling and silent crowd who vainly deliberated on the means of saving her. Dreaming of an approaching fête, she prepared her toilet, — she murmured gay melodies; and always measuring with a sure step the descent of the roof (for her sleep preserved her), she advanced to the edge, where she sat down, and from which, every now and then interrupting her labor, she leaned with a smile towards the street; and then a thousand hearts beat in a thousand breasts, as if they would burst, while the silence only grew deeper. Many times she withdrew herself from the fatal limit, many times she returned to it, — always smiling and always asleep. But all at once from a window right opposite her shone a little light; — the eyes of the somnambulist met it, — she awoke, — a piercing cry was heard, and then a mortal fall! Her awaking had killed her. Alas! men without faith, and without God, men whose god is the world, what are ye but somnambulists, who are advancing, asleep, to the edge of the abyss, singing perhaps and dreaming of fêtes, protected by your slumber, yet, like that unfortunate girl, carrying death with you? Let a little light arouse you from your dreams; let awaking surprise you on the edge of the precipice, you, too, reel, — you fall, — you perish! Are those who do not fall less somnambulists than you? are they less deceived, and less exposed to death? No: every worldling carries within him the germ of despair, every life without God is equivalent to a suicide!" — pp. 217–219.

Adolphe Monod, whom Mr. Turnbull calls "the model of a good practical preacher," furnishes a sermon, — "God is Love," — which does not impress us as very "practical," though we doubt not, that, to those of the same faith as the author, it may appeal with a power which we cannot appreciate. It contains some passages of undeniable beauty and energy of expression. We must pass rapidly over the sensible discourse of Grandpierre, the sparkling historical sermon of Merle d'Aubigné,* and the simple, solemn discourse of Gaussen, in which he appears to much more advantage than in his dogmatic, almost absurd, "Theopneusty,"† to give an extract from a homily on Humility by Lacordaire.

* We are pleased to find that M. de Véricour has spoken of the bigotry of this brilliant and popular historian in fitting terms. (*See History of Modern French Literature*, p. 247.) The dangerous influence of such a writer cannot be too often or too clearly exposed.

† The American Church, for its sins probably, has been punished with

"I open, then, with trembling, the heart of man; and for this purpose I need not go far. Alas! I have only to open my own, to discover what transpires in that of my fellow-creatures. I open the heart of man, and I see that he loves himself. He loves himself, and I blame him not: for why should he hate himself? But he more than loves himself: he loves himself more than all; he loves himself beyond all; he loves himself exclusively; he loves himself even to pride, and so as to wish to be the first, the only first. Let us descend into ourselves; whether destined to a throne, or to the shop of the artisan, at heart, and from the first moment that moral life has awakened in us, we have never ceased to aspire after exaltation and supremacy. Cæsar, it is said, passing a certain village in the Alps, and perceiving in that little forum the agitation respecting the election of a chief, lingered a moment to gaze on the spectacle. His captains around him were astonished. 'Is it possible that in this place, too, there should be disputes for supremacy?' And Cæsar, great as he was, replied, 'I would rather be first in this little village than second in Rome.' That is the true cry of nature. Whatever we are, we wish to be first. Artists predestined to reproduce objects by the chisel or the brush, orators seeking to communicate their ideas to the multitude, generals commanding battalions and promising them victory, ministers conducting the affairs of empires, kings agitated under their purple, all aspire to supremacy, and not only so, but exclusive supremacy. We are satisfied only when, gazing upon all around us, we find a void, and beyond that void, at the greatest possible distance, a world upon their knees, ready to adore us.

"A young man has received from nature an agreeable countenance: he has fair hair, blue eyes, a noble expression, an amiable smile. Frivolous creature! — you suppose he aspires only to the destiny of a flower. You are mistaken; he dreams, yes, he dreams of supremacy and dominion; by those feeble ties which bind hearts, he seeks to make himself an ephemeral object of admiration upon the lips of the world, where may be recounted all those petty distinctions and triumphs which fade as soon as they blossom.

"In a word, Messieurs, we aspire to supremacy, even by the power of nothing. I shall not further insist upon this truth. It is a commonplace, and, thanks to Heaven, I have a horror of commonplaces." — pp. 290, 291.

On the whole, these specimens of the pulpit oratory of France do not induce us to modify essentially the judgment

an elaborate translation of this curious work on "Inspiration," by the Rev. Mr. Kirk, of Boston.

of M. de Véricour. Throughout the world, there is a visible decline in the influence and the power of the clergy. In the sixteenth century, Calvin, Luther, Servetus, left the study of the law for the warfare of theology ; in the nineteenth, genius and energy leave the altar to grapple with the social and political questions of the day. But in this there is no discouragement, — only new hope for the Church. At last, the work which her eloquent voices prophesied and cried out for has begun to be accomplished. At last, the New Jerusalem comes down to man. Let not her chosen children withhold their hands from the labor ; and when wars and blood and struggles shall have passed away, — when the firm foundations shall have been built upon, and the stately towers have arisen, sunlit and strong, to heaven, — a new hierarchy will be found in the temples, a new company of the sons of God will proclaim, more nobly than of old, his recognized and triumphant truth.

W. H. H.

ART. VII. — SPHERE OF HUMAN INFLUENCE.

IN a former article* we drew conclusions touching the extent of man's influence throughout the physical world, deduced by demonstrative reasoning from the Newtonian law of gravity. These conclusions showed that the material world is by this law bound in one sensitively balanced whole, so that each deed of man is instantly felt in the farthest star, and a perpetual record thereof is kept in the movement of the heavenly orbs. Would that the laws of spiritual life were as readily reduced to accurate forms of expression, and that their consequences could be as clearly stated ! for they conform in their results to the spiritual truth which we have drawn from physical law.

The laws of spirit take little cognizance of space and time. But as motion is simultaneous throughout all space, and ever-during through all time, so each change in the spirit of each man affects the state of all the spiritual universe, and its influence remains through all eternity.

* Christian Examiner, for September, 1846.

As matter by the law of gravity, so spirits by the law of love, are all bound in one harmonious whole, whereof if "one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." A moving particle communicates its motion to those adjacent, — a law which holds equally for all sciences, deductive, inductive, or metaphysical.

Love is not only a fundamental law of human nature, but the principal, the general law. God is love, and man is created in his image ; — He, the sun of infinite magnitude, the origin of all living forces, but not moved by any reaction ; we, the particles, moved by him immediately, and mediately through the influence of each other. Love is the fundamental law. The sympathy between two souls is always greater than the antipathy, even when, through disturbing forces, the sympathy is neutralized and the antipathy developed into hatred. It needs but a change of circumstances to touch the sternest heart with the better emotions of tenderness and pity.

The influence which a man exerts on the world does not cease, then, with the effect that he has upon his nearest friends ; nor does it flow simply from the power of his word, or the force of his example. Whatever a man does, or thinks, or feels, even in solitude, has an effect, first upon himself. Whatever he is himself, he in turn makes of all those who in any way come in contact with him ; not wholly, but in proportion to his vital force, and the readiness with which they yield to or resist his influence. A cheerful countenance carries a gleam of sunshine into the darkest or most crowded street of the city. All who meet a sad face are touched with sadness. So of every shade of thought and feeling ; it produces some corresponding change, slight though it may be, in all souls that have any contact with the thinker's heart. This change immediately transfers itself, in some measure, to the wider circle in which these may act.

By the manners of a man, or by his speech, we know who have been his companions, — Galileans or Athenians. It needs only a nicer observation, a closer insight, a more searching analysis of character, to detect in the man's heart both the original traits and the modifications due to the influence of all with whom he has been associated. Nay, it were a task which might, perchance, not more exceed a Shakspeare's grasp than the creation of Hamlet would exceed the ordinary powers of men, to trace in the present character the influence of every circumstance which has ever

tended to develop or repress the instincts of the soul. Nor would it be impossible for a spirit less than infinite to see how the humblest act of any honest man has blessed, in a greater or less degree, each living member of our race, or how each one has suffered by the smallest deed of wickedness which any other man has done. Hence it might be possible that some higher intelligence than ours should read the record of my life, written in positive or negative characters, upon the soul of some poor man whom I had never seen, but whom I must, nevertheless, have blessed or cursed by every daily act.

The spiritual universe is, then, bound by the law of love, under its wide enunciation of sympathy, into one finely constituted whole, so that not one heart can throb but all hearts must throb with it. "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth," and of every man who falls into sin may we say, with yet deeper meaning than the prophet, "All hell is moved to meet thee at thy coming."

The influence of thought is eternal. As by the law of gravity the material universe, and by that of love the spiritual world, so by the law of the association of ideas is the world of thought bound into one whole, whereof you cannot move one thought but that thereby you move the whole. Nothing known, nothing thought, nothing done, nothing felt, can be forgotten. Some things are recalled freshly and vividly, some dimly, some too faintly for us to say that we recall them at all. Yet, as each moment's thought is connected in a train which reaches back to the earliest moment of consciousness, and shall reach on unbroken through eternity, it must ever be among the possibilities of memory to recall the thoughts of any instant. And as the rare occurrence of unusual power developed by accidental excitements suggests hopes of indefinite increase of power when we shall have laid aside this frame subject to accident, so the preternatural manifestation of memory, in certain states of health, warns us that this possibility of recalling all things may be an actual reality in the future life.

Then, as the soul surveys the past, with memory presenting its record of every deed, and with an eye quickened to see the influence which each has had, she may sit in judgment on herself. Then, also, as she enters the company of cherubim and seraphim, she will need no record of good or evil deeds, other than is written upon herself; for by her

presence will they read the history of her life. From their eyes, as from her own, there shall be no evil hidden and no good concealed. In looking forward to such a judgment, who does not tremble ; and who would not also take courage and labor with fresh hope ?

T. H.

ART. VIII.—THE RELATION OF THE PULPIT TO FUTURE AGES:—A DEFENCE OF PREACHING.

[A Discourse delivered before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, June 1, 1848. By EZRA S. GANNETT.]

2 Timothy iv. 2. "Preach the word."

AMONG the functions of the Christian minister, the most peculiar, if not the most important, is preaching. With the discharge of this function both his pastoral duty and his private life have a close connection, modifying its character and being in turn themselves affected by its influence. The estimation in which the pulpit is held by the people cannot, therefore, be regarded by us ministers with indifference. The relation of the pulpit to the age is one of the great questions of our time, and of all times ; on the answer to which virtually depend the comfort, usefulness, and even existence of the clergy as a distinct class in the community. A disposition has been manifested in some quarters to depreciate preaching, to deny its special value, and to suggest doubts of its adaptation to the wants of the present, and much more of coming ages. It may not be a wholly gratuitous or inappropriate task to undertake a defence of the pulpit, to offer what in the old ecclesiastical language might be called an apology for preaching,—a vindication of this part of ministerial duty from the charge of belonging rather to past than to future times. I would show, that, on the contrary, the preacher will find, in the circumstances by which the progress of society will surround him, new opportunities for the exercise of his peculiar function, instruments and aids of which he may avail himself to render his position still more prominent and efficient. The day has not passed by for the pulpit. Its greatest triumphs have not yet been witnessed. There is in the present condition, and in what we can define of the

future history of the world, much to justify the belief, that preaching, instead of being regarded as an out-worn institution, will acquire and retain an influence such as it has never yet enjoyed. The suitableness of the pulpit to the circumstances of future time is the subject of which I shall treat in this discourse.

Let me begin with a *defence* of the pulpit, that I may thence pass to a more direct affirmation of its claims and its prospects. I deny not that there is occasion for the remark, that preaching is often dull and commonplace. The pulpit has doubtless exhibited what Sidney Smith called "a decent debility," and also what, in similar phrase, he might have styled a virulent violence. There is a great deal of poor preaching, we may admit, and some preaching that is worse than poor. It may even be true that comparatively few sermons indicate a high order of talent or a richly stored mind. But let two things be considered. First, that the ministry, like every other profession, includes a multitude of men of small natural gifts and inferior intellectual accomplishments. This is a consequence of the number that are called into its service. The Protestant ministers of all denominations in this country were computed a year since at more than twenty-three thousand. Of these, ought we to expect the greater part to be men of distinguished abilities? We show no such injustice towards other professions. We expect that only a few will be eminent in their several employments. The ministry need not dread a comparison, in this respect, with other professions. There are as many poor lawyers and poor physicians as there are poor preachers. There are more merchants who fail in their business than there are ministers who fail in their sermons. And, further, the pulpit has had its ornaments in every way as remarkable as any that have signalized the bar or the forum. Neither the halls of the British Parliament nor the chambers of the American Congress have ever rung with higher strains of eloquence (I speak not now of the subject-matter, but of the genius and grace that marked the performance) than have fallen from the lips of gifted men in the discourses of the sanctuary. In point of fact, therefore, I deny, as unfounded, the imputation which is cast upon the pulpit, of exhibiting only a low order of talent. But let another fact be considered by those who would properly estimate the capacities of the sermon. Many of our preachers are obliged to prepare at least one

sermon a week, and some of them two, or even more, the year through. Now I ask the man whose flippancy is ever berating the pulpit, if he would lay the same requisition on the public orator or the legal advocate. Would he demand of either of them to produce every week, nay, every month, year after year, an elaborate, finished production, worthy to be remembered for its reach of thought, its logical force, its beauty of illustration, and its glow of feeling ; — to do this, also, amidst a crowd of cares, anxieties, and duties, that are alone enough to task the full strength of common men ? No, he would be ashamed to make such a demand of any one but a minister. Why, then, in the name of justice, should he make it of the minister, who is but a man at best, and not often made of finer mould than other men ? I sometimes think, when the various labors of our profession rise before my mind, that the wonder is there is so much of even tolerable preaching, — that every year there are produced in this country at least one hundred thousand pretty good sermons, worth being preached and worth being heard. And when to these we add the ten thousand excellent discourses, and the one thousand sermons of a very high order of merit, which are annually delivered in the United States, I hold, that, whatever the clergy may think of themselves, no reasonable layman has a right, — no *reasonable* layman will be disposed to charge upon them, as a class, either indolence or inefficiency.

Let us turn now, for the actual character of preaching, to its intrinsic capabilities. These are greatly underrated, and an opinion, I believe, is spreading, that the sermon is not entitled to rank as one of the highest forms in which genius may give expression to its thought. Instead of admitting the justice of so low an estimation, we may claim for the sermon the first place among the performances of a gifted or cultivated intellect. Preaching is the highest exercise of the human powers. Eloquence never rises to such loftiness of aim or strength of persuasion, argument never handles such weighty topics, imagination never exhibits such hues of celestial brilliancy, as in the sermon. Consider for a moment the themes which it discusses, — their magnitude, and their variety : God and man ; heaven and hell ; duty, destiny, redemption, and immortality. The preacher treats of the soul, with its deep infirmities and its deeper energies, of life, with its awful significance and its profound mysteries, of the Providence that embraces the universe and guides the fall of a sparrow,

of the moral government that unites in itself the attributes of legislative and judicial authority, while it holds every human being accountable for the trusts committed to him in the facts and circumstances of his existence, of the mission, the cross, and the kingdom of Christ, of the faith which saves, the discipline which purifies, the peace which refreshes, the hope which elevates, the believer. He discourses of sin and righteousness, of repentance and pardon, of mercy and judgment, of character and condition, of time and eternity. Themes of transcendent importance, of infinite meaning ; as vast as the universe and the attributes of God, as inexhaustible as the wants and the hopes of man ! By the side of such themes, do not the topics which the orator of the courts or the senate-house treats shrink into narrowness and puerility ? Mark how various are the trains of thought which lie open to the preacher. From the great central fact of being, they run in every direction through the illimitable creation. The past, the present, and the future are his. Providence is his ; revelation is his ; the world of sense is his ; the spiritual universe is his. Everywhere may he find matter with which to enrich his discourse. Should you tell me that the uncounted stars offer but a single night's employment to the scientific observer, the assertion would not have less foundation in truth than the complaint of inevitable monotony brought against the pulpit. Consider the purposes which the preacher entertains. He seeks a higher end than the advocate who pleads for property, reputation, or life, — a result far beyond that which the political harangue contemplates. When Demosthenes kindled the fire of liberty in the hearts of his countrymen, when Cicero swayed the Conscrip't Fathers of Rome as the wind moves the forest-trees, when Chatham made an English Parliament his submissive instrument, when Burke wrought his fervid thought into the structure of his majestic sentences, when Adams and Henry spoke freedom's language in freedom's tones, and fed a nation on their words, when the passions of an excited populace bowed before the calm, strong, noble address of Lamartine, not one of them all had in immediate view an end of such immeasurable moment as the humblest preacher who stands between the sinner and his God, and in his speech weighs eternal consequences against transitory delusions. Preaching not favorable to the exhibition of the highest gifts that man can possess ! Who is it that says

this ? One who knows the worth of the soul, — its peril, its extremity, its destiny ? One who has felt the fears of guilt, the agonies of remorse, or the tremblings of a Christian hope, the raptures of faith and love ? No, not he. It is ignorance and unbelief that can discover nothing but wearisomeness and commonplace in the topics of the pulpit, just as they can see nothing more than material elements in the memorials of the Saviour's death, — just as they can see nothing in God's great plan of providence so wonderful as the ingenious complexity of some human contrivance.

In itself considered, then, preaching is the noblest function that man can exercise. Yet by many is its glory thought to belong rather to the past than to the future, and 'some new form of influence is needed,' we are told, 'to take the place which it once held. The world will see no more eminent preachers. Happily for them whose names will be remembered, they lived when the sermon was the principal channel through which eloquence could pour its floods of truth and persuasion. Now, we must look to other modes of popular influence.' And this is said when Chalmers and Channing have just disappeared from the eyes of their contemporaries ! — Chalmers and Channing, men differing from each other as much in their mental constitution and their public efforts as in their theological conclusions, yet each proving, in his own style of Christian oratory, that the modern pulpit need not fear a comparison with former periods, whether more or less remote. Chalmers, strong, earnest, vehement, as the swell of the ocean when it beats down the walls which man has erected against its power ; Channing, gentle yet commanding, persuasive but fearless, like the morning light before whose increasing strength darkness in vain attempts to hold its dominion ; they alone afford a sufficient refutation of the charge, that the pulpit, now, only serves to protect prosaic dulness or rhetorical temerity from the disgrace which would be its just retribution. With such examples before us, we take courage while pursuing our inquiry into the adaptation of the sermon to present and future times.

Let me pause a moment before entering any farther into this inquiry, to explain what I mean by the sermon. I would connect clear and definite ideas with the word *preaching*. I mean by it the application of Christianity to the wants and circumstances of men in addresses from the pulpit. I do not mean discursive essays, or scientific lectures, or imaginative

sketches. It is the privilege of the preacher — his business and his duty — to place religious truth within the grasp of men's understandings, to bring it near and lay it upon their consciences, to pour it into their hearts. It is his province to make them apprehend their relations as moral beings, and cause them to see the stern and blessed realities of life. He must speak to the soul, as well as of the soul, and preach Christ while he preaches in Christ's name. He must show how religion is man's want and man's glory. He must apply Christianity to the habits and practices of the age in which he lives, even as the gauger applies his rule to the vessel he would measure, or the assayer his test to the metal he would prove. He must be direct and thorough in his use of Divine truth. His words must not glance from the surface, or play upon it, but must penetrate to the centre. He must make men feel their sinfulness and their duty, God's presence and God's grace, that they may "believe with the heart unto righteousness." Such should be the design and the effect of preaching.

In regard to the form of the sermon, also, I hold that it is a peculiar composition, subject to its own laws, which it cannot transgress without losing a part of its excellence. It need not have a formal division, but it should not be a crude mass of thought, nor a heap of words without thought. It need not always flow from a text written on paper, but, like a stream from a hidden source, it should flow from a Scriptural truth in the preacher's mind. The sermon should always aim at instruction or persuasion, or at what is a still higher result, the enkindling in the hearer's soul of a sympathy with the glowing and worshipping soul of the speaker; and it should be constructed on the principles which such an aim demands. Away with slovenly preaching, and away with finical preaching! Away with mean preaching, and away with ambitious preaching! Condemn them, banish them, exclude them altogether and for ever from the pulpit. I maintain the dignity of the sermon as a literary production; and when I listen to the minister, I want not something else instead of a sermon. It fills its own department of literature, and that is a department which falls below no other. A perfect sermon is at once an oration and a poem. It has unity, order, argument, sentiment, forcible thought, impassioned feeling, delicate expression. I say a *perfect* sermon. There are not many such. Why wonder at this? There is but

one "Paradise Lost" in English, but one "Oration on the Crown" in Greek. The nearer preaching comes to its perfection, the better. Therefore let it adhere to its true purpose and form. It is a foolish and a mischievous mistake, to try to shape the sermon into something that shall not remind people of its peculiar character or office. It is unwise to covet for it the nearest possible resemblance to the literature of the world. Would you disrobe the bird of paradise of its plumage, that you might make it appear like one of our domestic fowls?

Preaching, as I have now described it, is not likely to become an obsolete institution, because, as we have seen, it is suited to man's nature, and the tendencies and wants of human nature are in all ages the same; it is suited to man's condition, and the essential features of that condition remain unchanged. Preaching deals with universal and unalterable facts, with the realities of consciousness and situation. It addresses men's understandings to enlighten and convince them, reasoning with them of "righteousness and temperance and a judgment to come." It approaches their consciences to awaken and instruct them, proclaiming the terrors of the Lord and unfolding his holy commandments. It releases their affections from the thralldom of earth, that it may raise them to the Heavenly Father and the Divine Saviour. It explains their experience, and opens to them the meaning of pain and sorrow. It reproves the sinful, comforts the sad, and assists the feeble. But the sinful, the sad, and the feeble are found in every age, and into these three classes may mankind be divided; for the strongest are weak, and the happiest must feel the pressure of suffering, and the best are conscious of ill-desert. Man comes into life the same ignorant, helpless being now, that he appeared in his infancy two thousand years ago; he grows up exposed to trial and temptation, as he did then; he errs and falls; he feels his need of help, or if he do not, he needs it all the more; he feels his need of forgiveness, or if he do not, he has the more to be forgiven; he walks in a difficult and dangerous way; the grave is before him, and his path soon ends there. What is there in human nature or human condition that makes the present stand in violent contrast with the past? The native powers, the moral responsibilities, the spiritual necessities, of the race are the same in this generation that they were when Peter and Paul first preached the Gospel to their

fellow-men. Civilization has wrought only a superficial change in some of the incidents of existence. The qualities of human nature and the elements of human life remain as they were before the science or the philosophy or the social arrangements or the political institutions of our day were dreamed of. And they will remain the same when a more profound science and a wiser philosophy and a more perfect social order and yet better forms of government shall have superseded our present civilization. Men will still be born in ignorance, and will still live in sin, and still be subject to death. The world will be full of temptation, and suffering will enter the rich man's palace and the poor man's cottage ; and the soul will have its doubts and fears, its vain desires and burning remorse, its load of guilt and its heavenward aspirations, its struggles, its conflicts, its defeats, and its victories ; and men will need the revelation of Divine truth, the Gospel of God's grace, the religion of Jesus Christ, as much as ever ; and they will need the sermon and the preacher ; and they will have them both, when we and our times are forgotten. Preaching meets man's wants, inward and outward. Those wants, in great part at least, are inseparable from his birth and residence on earth. And therefore do I believe that, as long as the earth stands, the pulpit will hold its place among the means of human relief and human culture.

But while the audience before which the preacher shall appear will, in its essential characteristics, resemble the audiences that have, in past centuries, listened to his voice, the instrument which he will use, let me next observe, will also remain unchanged. This instrument is the truth which has come down from the past, through the successive revelations of the Divine will, till it found its full expression in Christianity. The Christian preacher, as we have said, applies Christianity to the character and circumstances of his hearers. But Christianity is not something different now from what it was in Wesley's time, or Luther's, or Augustin's, or Timothy's. Various interpretations of it there may be hereafter, as there already have been, and future ages may understand the records of our faith better than we or our fathers have understood them ; but Christianity undergoes no change. "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," is "a true and faithful saying." The substance of the stars wastes away and is renewed ; but Christianity loses nothing and gains nothing with the lapse of ages. "Heaven and earth

shall pass away," said our Lord, "but my words shall not pass away." The Gospel of to-day is the same which was promulgated in Judea by him who cried, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"; the same which the Church should have been reiterating through all the voices of its past instruction; and the same which the true Church will repeat in its songs of thanksgiving and its lessons of counsel to the end of time. No better nor other revelation do we look for, since this is sufficient for all the purposes of personal sanctification and social regeneration for which this Gospel was needed. In Jesus we see the "Finisher," as well as the "Author," of the world's faith. Whatever progress mankind may make, they can never outrun the teaching of Christ. Whatever discoveries gifted minds may announce, whatever illumination may burst upon the people, whatever reconstruction of society may be attempted or effected, Christianity will still be the guide and guardian of human progress. And Christianity will be found always, and only, in the Christian Scriptures, — in the Bible, that register and memorial of Divine goodness, which passes down from age to age, unworn by use, unchanged by time, — in size scarce bigger than a child's hand, in worth more precious than the mines of the two hemispheres, — the study and admiration as it has been of departed generations, to become the study and admiration of our children and our children's children, to the latest posterity. To fasten men's faith upon this volume, to expound these Scriptures, to educe and unfold the Christianity which they contain, is the preacher's work. And therefore will preaching continue, an office and institution in the Church as long as the Church preserves its existence on earth.

For, again I remark, preaching is preëminently and peculiarly a Christian institution, — in its origin traceable to Christianity, in its character suited to the genius of Christianity. Paganism knew it not as one of the methods of spreading or enforcing a religious faith. There was no preaching in the heathen temples. Socrates was not a preacher, nor was Zeno, nor Seneca, nor Antoninus. Judaism did not include preaching among its sacred offices. Although the order of the Christian worship may have been borrowed in part from the Jewish synagogue, the exposition of the Law that was given in the synagogue bore little resemblance to the sermon of the early Church. Not only are we

indebted to Christianity for this form of address, but it is particularly suited for use in the service of such a religion. For Christianity appeals to the reason, while it demands the faith, of men. It informs the understanding, while it enkindles the affections. Argument and persuasion are, therefore, its appropriate methods ; and these are the constituent parts of the sermon. Were it a ceremonial religion, preaching could be only engrafted upon it, and with but doubtful success. But Christianity has no ritual ; no visible altar, nor sacerdotal pomp. It sways men through their convictions and their sympathies. How does it win their sympathies, or how create their convictions ? It has few outward signs. The water of baptism, the bread and wine of the eucharist, the cross, emblem of redemption and love, — these are its only symbols. It has no ecclesiastical institutions. The Church grew up and took shape from the divine spirit which constituted its life, but that life depended not on a particular organization. Christianity reaches and governs men through speech, — the living speech of living tongues, the written, but still living, speech of the departed. It is through language that the Gospel must come into connection with human affairs or with human souls. Now the sermon is the speech of the preacher, trembling on his lips or breathing from his page. The sermon, then, is the most appropriate means that Christianity can use for diffusing its truths, or extending its power. Put an end to preaching, and I will not say that you would prevent the spread of our religion, for it might find other means, though less effectual, for retaining or enlarging the influence it now enjoys ; but I am justified in saying that you would cripple its resources, that you would cut off the right arm of its power. So long as men remain what they are, and Christianity remains what it is, so long will the vocation of the preacher be needed, and be honored.

In this conclusion, however, all are not ready to abide, because great changes are in progress, which will create new wants and new tastes. The world, society, man, are no longer what they were, and the old methods must fall into disuse. Were the first part of this statement true, the inference is not so clear to me as it may be to others. Man, I repeat, is the same now that he was a thousand years ago, — the same alike in his capacities and in his relations. Humanity presents the same great types of character in all ages. The world is growing wiser and better, we hope. God help

it, if it be not ! But it is much the same world that it has always been, and is likely to continue the same for generations to come. Society is passing into a higher order of civilization, but it does not follow that it will leave preaching behind it. The despot and the warrior will not have a place in that higher civilization ; but may not the preacher ? He has filled a place which no one else could fill, in various stages of social progress. Preaching has travelled down through eighteen centuries, attending the diverse fortunes of the Church ; is it to stop here ? It has seen different forms of civilization, and mingled its influence with them all. It has raised its voice in the midst of Jewish, Pagan, Christian institutions, — converting thousands as its words dropped from the anointed lips of Apostles, thrilling multitudes through the golden sentences of Chrysostom, rousing nations with the appeals of Peter the Hermit, instructing the wise in the elaborate discourses of Barrow, convulsing crowds by the impetuous energy of Whitefield. There was preaching in the catacombs of Rome, and there has been preaching beneath the dome of St. Peter's. Greater yet was the company of the preachers, when Protestantism opened a new era of civilization. Preaching came with Puritanism to America, and on the soil where education and liberty have struck their deep roots, it has flourished along with them. If the past, then, contain any prophecy of the future, it is not a prediction of decay, for that which has shown such various adaptation will accommodate itself to the new circumstances of other ages.

We need not, however, confine ourselves to this indirect mode of reply. Let us look at the changes which are taking place, and see whether they are such as will tend to lessen the importance of the preacher's office, or, on the contrary, will give it new dignity and efficiency. First, we are told that the reverence which was once felt for the clergy has expired, — that the minister can no longer derive a factitious advantage from his office, but must now stand, like other men, on his own merits. I hope it is so ; and I think my ministerial brethren will agree with me in rejoicing over the departure of that superstitious regard which saw in a minister something else than one of God's human creatures. We want no factitious honor, we covet no false distinction. We enter the pulpit because it is a more convenient place for public address than the floor of the house. I wear these robes because they serve to hide an awkward delivery. I desire

nothing, and I will receive nothing, on the mere ground of my profession. But is it a disadvantage to the minister that he must stand on his real merits? Will he, probably, be a less efficient preacher, because his whole influence must rest on the character of his preaching? Has he not, now, every motive to make him industrious and faithful? Is it not as certain as demonstration could make it, that preaching will improve under the necessities of this new position? And if it improve, will the age reject it? Reduce princes of the blood royal to the condition of common men, and they will show whether they have any manliness in them. So, strip off every clerical pretension that the folly of the people or the folly of the minister has ever hung about his name, and you will see whether he is worthy to teach his fellow-men. If he be worthy, believe me, they will listen to him.

Again, it is said that we are living in an age of excitement, when the people are beginning to think, and to speak out their thoughts, when society is breaking through old restraints, when conventionalism and prescription have no longer any authority, and men are pressing on rashly, wildly, but yet resolutely, towards the realization of those hopes which rest like golden clouds upon the future, reflecting the light whose full-orbed splendor our eyes are not strong enough to bear; and in such days of expectation and enterprise, the clergy will find themselves supplanted by more active spirits. But are not the clergy to feel the excitement of the times? Will not they be borne on in the great social movement of the age, or perhaps become themselves its leaders? What is there in a minister that should make him insensible to the stirring influences which act on other men? Is he only a fixture, to mark how high the stream rises? The history of revolutionary times, either here or abroad, does not so describe him. The history of social progress does not so represent him. The clergy, as a class, are neither impracticable nor lethargic. It is an old slander, that the clergy always oppose social advancement, and it is a slander which every popular movement since the Reformation has refuted. The pulpit receives and transmits the electricity of the times; and if it leads it off in safer directions than it might follow, were it left to take its own course, shall we therefore bring against the pulpit the charge of insensibility to the character of the times? It is justly liable to no such charge.

I would consider this objection from another point of view.

We do live in an age of excitement, when the barriers of ancient restraint are broken down, and the people are exercising their new freedom, often to their own harm. In such a period the pulpit occupies a position held by no other instrumentality, — a position of the utmost importance and of great responsibility. It is the mediating power between the conservatism and the radicalism that stand in hostile relations, and threaten, by their opposite tendencies, to tear society in pieces. Never is the preacher more needed than at such a period ; and never is his influence more felt. The minister of that religion which recognizes at once the principles of permanence and of progress, — which points with one hand to the past as the birthplace of wisdom, and with the other to the future as the seat of its empire, — which repeats the great ideas of faith, order, and authority, to which the world must cling, if it would not be overwhelmed by its own passions, yet proclaims, and has been for ages proclaiming, what modern revolution adopts as its watchwords, liberty, equality, and fraternity, — the minister of the religion of freedom and love, the minister of Christ, the universal Friend, — he is the proper person to interpret to each party, on the great questions which now agitate the depths of society, the purposes of the opposite party, and to each party often its own purposes, — to promote both a good understanding and a mutual respect, — to soften bigotry and cure fanaticism, on whichever side they may appear. And let me say, — not in a tone of reckless arrogance, but from a desire to render simple justice to the clerical profession, — that its members, as a body, have not shown themselves insensible to the responsibilities of their situation. Look at the relation they sustain to the reforms of the day, moral, political, or social ; always ready to examine their claims, sometimes compelled to pronounce the schemes of ardent philanthropists unsound or dangerous, but more often prompt to give their assistance, and not seldom found among the foremost and firmest friends of the enterprise. Preaching never had such scope nor such pertinency as now. If it were not in existence, the times would create it. The pulpit is the muniment of modern society.

I have adverted to the circumstances which surround the preacher, as bringing him into new relations to the community, and giving him new opportunities of influence. Let me point out another advantage which he may derive from

the character of the present age, in the materials which it offers to his use. Besides those great themes, arguments, and illustrations, which, as we have seen, belong to all times, there are two characteristics of our age which tend to increase the resources of the pulpit. One is that very activity of social life to which I have just alluded, — opening continually new plans and stimulating new efforts. What a multitude of topics now solicit the preacher's attention, which a quarter of a century ago were thought to lie without his province, or, rather, had not become subjects of thought either with him or with others ! Does any one doubt that the pulpit has a larger field of observation spread before it than it had in the last generation ; or that it takes a broader and a deeper survey of society ? Discussion has a wider range everywhere else. Is it limited, restricted to its former boundaries, pent up, imprisoned, here ? No. It has the whole consciousness and expression of humanity submitted to its notice, all human interests as they are every day unfolding or changing their character, all human relations as they are evolved from the incessant course of events, all human wants as they publish themselves in more or less articulate speech. Christianity is constantly finding new occasion for the development of its truths, and therefore he whose office it is to expound these truths has a constantly increasing service to render. But, secondly, ours is an age of extraordinary scientific and mechanical activity. Discovery and invention have in our own day accomplished such wonders, that we cease to feel surprise at their most brilliant results. The astronomer has penetrated the depths of space, the chemist has revealed the secret forces of nature, the geologist has opened the pages of a book more ancient than the race of man, the engineer has constructed machines that travel over mountains and across rivers with a strength generated and sustained within themselves, the thought of man uses the fluid of the skies as its means of visible expression, the agonies of disease are quelled by the subtle vapor, and every day adds some new fact to the knowledge which is the common possession of all classes of the people. What immense variety of illustration is here placed within the reach of the Christian orator or writer ! How may he enrich his discourses with the fruits of other men's labors ! Who would have thought, ten years ago, of a sermon on roads, or on an aqueduct for supplying the physical wants of a city ? Yet very good

themes have they afforded, that have been well handled. Religious truth is every day finding some new ground on which to enter, some new illustration on which to seize.

I cannot but notice another distinction of our times, that promises to add weight to the discourses of the pulpit. It is, perhaps, the most marked peculiarity of the period in which we live, that both thought and speech have acquired an almost boundless freedom. Tongues are unloosed, and minds are unbound. I have already alluded to this quality of our age as stimulating the preacher's exertions. I now adduce it as directly suited to render the services of the pulpit at once more instructive and more popular in their character than they have ever been. With less of the old method, there will be a force and appositeness which the old method lacked. Preaching will become more lively without losing its seriousness, and more free without sacrificing its dignity. Do we not already observe signs of such a change? I believe there was never so little dull preaching on this continent as now. Every denomination in the land feels the currents of life flowing faster through its veins, and this quickened circulation of the truth which is its lifeblood gives a warmer glow to the expression of its faith. The pulpit has been accused of unfaithfulness to the interests of humanity. I have denied the justice of this imputation; but for the present argument it matters not whether it be true or false. If, in times past, preaching has been cold, technical, professional, then its manifest improvement in our own day is an augury of its increasing power. If it has not been negligent, timid, or mechanical, then the improvement to which I refer shows that it is not only capable of yet nobler efforts, but that this capacity will not remain a buried talent. I speak of an actual improvement in the preaching of the Christian Church, for of the fact I entertain no doubt. In various particulars do we witness here the effect of that freedom which is either subverting or revivifying all the institutions of the world. First, preaching has acquired greater simplicity, and therefore greater facility of adaptation to the circumstances of the hour. An artificial and cumbrous order has given place to a more natural, popular, and effective style of address. Then, it has become more earnest; the preacher talks more as if he were pleading the great cause of truth and right against delusion and sin. Then, it is more manly; the preacher relies more on his own honest conviction, and more on

the intelligent sympathies of his audience. And, finally, there is more real life in the pulpit, more genuine utterance, more fervid conception and more strong exhibition of the grand principles of faith and duty. You may see this in opposite quarters. Let any one read the sermons that the Tractarian divines put forth in England five or six years since, and he will feel that those men were in earnest. Let any one compare the preaching of the Presbyterian or the Baptist denomination with what it was ten years ago, and he will perceive signs of progress. Preaching is better than it was in our fathers' time, and to argue that it will in future deteriorate is as if one should interpret convalescence as a precursor of death.

There remains yet one consideration, stronger than all, which makes me hopeful respecting the pulpit. The general intelligence, the growing and spreading intelligence of the times, this will uphold the pulpit. The wiser men become,—as they better understand themselves and the religion in which they believe,—the clearer will be their discernment of the fitness of this instrument to accomplish great services in behalf of humanity. In reference to other methods which the Church has adopted for maintaining its spiritual life, we may predict a different result. They rest on authority, and authority that cannot justify itself to the reason of men is crumbling away from beneath every institution, political or ecclesiastical, of past ages. Preaching rests on the intellectual assent and moral sympathies of the people. It is an appeal to their hopes and their fears through their convictions. The more general the diffusion of knowledge, the more enlightened the people become, the better able will they be to appreciate the privileges of instruction. Preaching is not a product of barbarism nor a device of tyranny. The baron of the Middle Ages went to mass, but not to sermon. The autocrat of the Russias is willing his subjects should gaze on a priesthood clad in gorgeous vestments and performing solemn rites, but he is careful how they listen to a ministry discoursing on the great themes of freedom and hope. But the days of kingly craft and priestly pomp have now come to an end. When men burn thrones, they ask for something more in their churches than lighted altars or liturgical performances. They demand counsel, truth, help, light for the mind, love for the heart, strength and liberty for the soul. They call for a solution

of the problems which their experience includes, but cannot interpret, the problems of society and life. They call upon religion, not to crush, but to raise them, — not to mock, but to relieve them. Their demands are reasonable and right. In God's name, let them be answered. But by whom? By the politician? No. He will discuss measures of government, when men require principles of action. By the scholar? No. He lives in the past; the people need some one to lead them who is living, like themselves, in the present. The ethical writer? No. He deals in theories and speculations; men want discourses drawn from the fountains of being. The minister, the preacher, the Christian preacher, he is the man to answer the questions of suffering, struggling, impatient humanity. He is the man for these times, for the coming times, — the times of inquiry and effort, the times of "refreshment from the presence of the Lord." He is the man to meet the necessities of an hour when the covering of falsehood is to be torn off from life, and its severe realities, fearful in aspect, but gracious in their issues, are to be interpreted to the consciousness of the world. He is the one whom the world wants, and to whom men will listen; he, who will tell them of God the Father, of Christ the Saviour, of the immortal destiny of the soul, of the sacred law of duty, of love, and peace, and hope. He, their fellow-man, yet their instructor, — he, with the prophet's inspiration and the brother's heart, — he, who has knelt and wept before the cross of Christ, till he knows how to kneel and weep with them whom Christ came to save, — he, who has caught the strains of heaven's melody proclaiming "peace on earth, good-will to men," and can pour them into the ears of the populace groaning beneath the miseries and the passions which belong to earth, — he, who claims nothing in his own name, and every thing in the holy names of freedom, truth, and religion, — he is the man whom the world will welcome and will honor, whose office they will sustain, whose functions they will respect, whose services they will claim. And, thank God! the ministry is responding to the call which is already made upon it. Yes. From the bosom of the Papal Church is there a response. It is no accidental thing, nor an insignificant fact, that — not after the popular will had hurled the king from his throne, but when monarchy was pressing its iron heel into the people's heart — the most celebrated preacher of the Roman Catholic faith in Paris said to the

crowds that filled the aisles of Notre Dame, — “The interests of the Church are those of humanity, and the interests of humanity are those of the Church. Christianity, of which the Church is the living body, arrived at its present degree of lofty power by means alone of the profound relations which exist between it and humanity. Modern society is the expression of the wants of humanity, and in consequence it is also the expression of the wants of the Church.” I do not believe those words were spoken in a jesuitical spirit of compromise with the times. They are worthy of Christianity, they are honorable to the Communion by whose organ they were pronounced.

With such a spirit breathing through the Romish Church, even there will preaching furnish an answer, and the needed answer, to the questions which freedom and intelligence shall propound. But Romanism is not to be the religion of future centuries. It is extending itself in this country just now, from obvious and temporary causes. But it is tottering in the seats of its ancient power. Nor is it the religion which ages of freedom and intelligence will accept. I do not believe that such ages will cherish *any* hierarchical institutions. Democracy is the destiny of the world in politics, and democracy is its destiny in religion. And, fathers and brethren, — let me say it, with all proper respect for other forms of discipline, but in a profound and grateful admiration of that system of church polity which we have inherited from our Pilgrim ancestors, — the only practical democracy in religion is to be found in Congregationalism. Now in our Congregational churches preaching ever has been, and ever will be, the chief means of moral impression. It will hold a prominent place, a place second to none other except domestic teaching, among the means of spiritual culture adopted by the members of these churches. So long as Congregationalism shall endure, will the preacher be called to exercise his vocation.

Let me glance at yet one other characteristic of future times, which connects the pulpit with the progress of our race. In the ages that will succeed our own, perhaps at no great distance, Christianity will be brought into such contact with the institutions of society, the opinions of the thoughtful, and the habits of the busy and the practical, as it has never yet had. The application of Christianity to life is the great work of the future ; a work which it remains for the future

to do, and which it will do. The interests of Christian faith and of active duty must cease to be regarded as separate, or even as allied; they must be blended and made identical. The life of man, of the individual, of society, of the world, must be penetrated, pervaded, filled with the truth and spirit of Christ. It is the infusion of this truth and spirit, that will make the coarse and homely perfectly beautiful. In the hands of the Bohemian workman the colorless glass glows with the hues of the rainbow, not laid upon it nor shining through it, but mingled with it, so that every part and particle exhibits his success, and you can efface the proof of his skill only by destroying the substance itself. In like manner should Christianity be incorporated with the whole life of the world, making it all beautiful, all divine. It seems to me that I behold the signs of an approach to this consummation. In the various schemes of philanthropy and reform that distinguish our age I see a Christian element. It is this that gives them their value. Sometimes the source whence that element was drawn is not acknowledged. Still, through these agencies Christianity is getting access to the errors and miseries that afflict mankind, and they are preparing the way for another generation intelligently and gratefully to take up the work of applying Christian truth to human concerns, — to government, to trade, to the organization of society, to all the relations that unite men and all the interests that affect them. Now under whose guidance is another generation to pursue this work? To whom shall it look for encouragement and counsel? To whom, if not to him whose peculiar function it is to exhibit the methods and the results of that application of Christianity to human affairs which was intended by its Divine Author? We have seen that this is the special business of the preacher; and now we see that in this way he will meet the special necessities and demands of future times. Is it not clear, then, that, so far from being neglected or left behind, preaching will occupy hereafter a position and command an influence such as it has never enjoyed? I can understand how the world may learn to do without the statesman, the magistrate, or even the schoolmaster; but I do not see how in the stages of its future progress it can dispense with the Christian preacher. As the character of that progress defines itself to my view, it seems to me that he will be needed more and more, and will find continually increasing opportunities for the discharge of his peculiar function.

It is said, indeed, that other modes of social influence, being better suited to the higher and freer culture which will mark future periods of human history, will supersede preaching. I had intended to give this remark the attention which it deserves, but I must confine myself to the briefest notice. The other methods on which reliance is placed, by those who believe that mankind will outgrow the instruction of the pulpit, are the popular lecture, public discussion, and the press. Bear with me while I add a word on each of these points. A few years ago, one might have spoken of the success of the popular lecturer, or rather of the position which he would hold before the community, with less confidence than he may now feel in the opinion he shall express. The experiment has been made fairly, and, I think, thoroughly. And what is the result? That the lecturer is likely to supplant the preacher? By no means. That the church will be forsaken for the lyceum? By no means. That, in some rare instances, the delivery of lectures, literary or scientific, may be made the employment of a man's life, his profession, and the means of his support, and that the public will maintain this as a permanent source of instruction and entertainment, are points upon which there can remain little doubt. But that it will ever be adopted as an essential or principal means of moral influence, or even of intellectual culture, the experience of the last five years shows to be utterly improbable. Besides, let it be considered that a lecture on any one of the great topics of religious faith or the Christian life is virtually a sermon. It may be called by another name, but Cæsar does not cease to be Cæsar because you style him Augustus. It may have no text, but a book is still a book, though it want the title-page. It may be delivered in a hall instead of a meeting-house, but the longest sermon that the Apostle Paul ever preached (for "he continued his speech until midnight") was in an upper chamber. It is not the place that makes the sermon. It is the discourse that makes the cavern, or the open hill-side, a Christian sanctuary.

As to public discussion, or the less ambitious form of the social conference, it is plain that this can never take the place of the pulpit, for the simple reason, that the one is suited to one class of wants and tastes, and the other to another class. Men will have them both, — more conference and more discussion, — but not less preaching, I think. Men love to talk, and they love to listen, too. They like to cherish their

social sympathies, and they like to sit in the presence of one who, for the time, sustains to them the relation of a teacher. They may frequent the open meeting, where tongue sharpeneth tongue ; but, unless I greatly mistake both their judgments and their inclinations, they will not forego the quiet and decent order of God's house.

The press is destined to become, it has already become, an instrument of the mightiest power. It can raise up, and it can bring down. It can enlighten ignorance, and it can exasperate prejudice. It can scatter instruction broadcast, that shall spring up in blessing, and it can sow the seeds of universal ruin. But it will not render preaching needless or unacceptable. The pulpit will use the press as its ally and its servant, but it will not be driven by the press from its rightful position in the community. The charm and the power of the living voice cannot be transferred to leaden types. You cannot print the tone, the look, the manner. You cannot make a book a man. And therefore will the preacher always retain his office, and be held in due estimation.

I will add but a single remark in illustration of the truth, that the press can never do the preacher's work ; and I detain you while I offer it, because, though I can here present it only as an incidental illustration, it might have been made a topic of distinct and cogent argument. The press cannot supply the wants which Christian men will always feel in connection with the Lord's day. The Lord's day ! that is a perpetual institution. The stars may be plucked from the skies sooner than that can be torn from the reverence and love of Christian hearts. Men may hold meetings, make speeches, pass resolutions, write pamphlets, to prove that all days of the week are alike ; but in vain. They will not be believed, for the wants of man's nature that demand social worship, and the labors incident to his condition that create the need of rest, and the associations of his faith that hallow the morning of the Saviour's resurrection, will all pronounce the assertion false. The Lord's day ! it will come to our children, and to their children, and to the generations that shall follow them, through uncounted ages ; it will come and be welcomed, and the people will "go up to the house of the Lord in company," and will there "keep holy time." And then and there will the preacher stand up and speak to the assembled congregation of him who passed through the grave for their sake, and rose that they might

live. Then and there will the preacher stand up and discourse on the themes appropriate to the place and the day.

Friends and hearers, I have wearied your patience ; but how little have I said, how much have I left unsaid ! Let us not part till I have suggested the use which we may make of the conclusion to which these remarks have been intended to lead us.

I speak to my fathers and brethren in the ministry ; and I say to them, — Magnify the preacher's office. It is the highest you can fill : bring to it your best gifts, your most devoted service. Be faithful as pastors, be faithful in all your social and personal duties, but be preëminently faithful in your preparation for the pulpit. Enter it as if it were the loftiest position you could take on earth. Preach as if you felt that the glory of God and the salvation of men depended on your words. Preach as if you felt that through you Christ himself drew near to the souls of the people. Bring nothing here which you have not carefully meditated, — nothing, oh ! nothing, which you do not believe as you believe in your own immortal being, — nothing which shall be a mere perfunctory utterance, a mere profane babbling. Magnify your office as preachers, for your own sake and for the sake of your congregations.

I speak to members of those congregations ; and I say to them, — Honor the pulpit ; cling to it ; vindicate it from false imputation ; and let it not lose its just place in men's regards through your silence or your neglect. Value preaching, and show that you value it by attending upon it. Do not discredit the sermon by esteeming every other form into which the human mind can cast its thoughts as superior to this. Neither make it the occasion of frivolous literary criticism. Criticize the preacher's discourse as you would criticize a voice from the unseen world, for his discourse should be the fruit of communion with that world. The preacher "takes of the things of God, and showeth them unto man." All that is sublime, all that is tender, all that is true, — the unmeasurable depths of Christianity, the infinite meaning of life, the harmonies and differences of the universe, — these things are his study. Allow him to ponder such themes. Give him time to prepare his discourses. Do not expect or desire him to sacrifice the excellence of his preaching to the fidelity of his pastoral service. Demand of the minister that he preach well ; and when he preaches well, honor him for his work's sake, and honor his work for your own sakes.

I speak to some who may be hesitating in regard to their future employment in life ; and I say to them, — If you would choose the most honorable service, if you would exercise the highest function within the reach of man, if you desire to place yourselves in the most enviable position on earth, if you would select your profession on the ground of intrinsic worth or relative influence, enter the ministry ; because then you can *preach*, and there is no relation that you can hold to your fellow-men so important, no trust so responsible, no work so great, as the preacher's. Pass it not by as if it would not give scope to the largest talent, or opportunity of expression to the loftiest purpose. Young men ! if your hearts have felt the love of Christ, become preachers of his Gospel for the sake of its blessed truth, of his great sacrifice, and of your own everlasting joy.

I speak to those who will now be invited to increase the amount of relief or comfort that may be distributed among the widows and children of deceased ministers, and to them I say, — Those ministers were preachers. They loved the pulpit, and have associated their names with its history and its influence. Show that you honor their memories, show that you honor the work to which they gave their strength, show that you justly appreciate the responsibilities and labors of the Christian preacher, by giving to those whom a single-hearted devotion to the ministry has left in need of your bounty. If you care not whether the independence, the dignity, and the power of the pulpit be maintained, by enabling those who perform its offices to cast off the burden and bondage of worldly anxiety, then give nothing or give sparingly. But if you would relieve the incumbent of the pulpit from a painful solicitude respecting those whom he may leave behind him, if you would help to make the pulpit what it should be, — pleasant in the experience of him who stands there, and honorable in the eyes of the people of the land, — then give according to your ability ; and your gift shall be returned upon your own hearts, in the blessings of the widow and the fatherless, in the conviction that you have aided a great interest of humanity, in the satisfaction you shall derive from knowing that you have upheld an institution to whose efficiency future times will bear witness, and in the favor of him whose Gospel has been preached to those who believe in his name, that they may partake of his spirit of love, and imitate his example of beneficence.

ART. IX. — THE RELIGION OF LIFE: — A REVERIE.

HERE, on this mountain-top, in lonely grandeur lifting its head towards heaven, and beneath this azure vault, whose bending arch speaks of the pure and mighty God who made it, — here, in this glorious temple, where the lofty and generous and good spirits of every age have given adoration to its Creator, — here, casting all life's cares, controversies, toils, and trials into the dim distance, would I muse on its great realities, and call forth those grand and simple outlines impressed on the universe of being. And do thou, O God ! who hast taught me to see in truth thine own image, and to love with deep devotion both it and thee, — who hast implanted in my nature this burning desire to comprehend its vastness, that I may so live as in action to reflect its spirit, — guide thou my thoughts, while, opening thy harmonious volumes of nature and revelation, my spirit humbly seeketh truth !

Centuries glide away, and these rock-ribbed hills change not their grand outlines, yet on their surface each passing day brings many changes. These whispering trees, these lovely mosses, those flitting insects, those warbling birds, all have for their history *mutation*. So throughout creation great facts and laws change not with time's advance, though the vestments in which they are clothed are ever varying. No flight of ages can affect the essential nature of right or wrong, of guilt or innocence, of ignorance or knowledge, of piety or impiety. Religion, pure and undefiled, is one of those grand realities as fixed in their own nature as any law or quality of the material world. Shifting circumstances may give it varying expression, different dispensations may modify its externals, or embody it with greater or less purity ; yet a community of spirit and nature pervades all its manifestations. Its universality spurns every bound of sect. Wherever human nature exists, a sentiment of religion, a feeling of love for God and of respect for his laws, so far as known, may live and receive a healthful development. Many an humble Socrates, to whom Christ's name and teachings never came, has touchingly displayed in feeling and in life a deep religious sentiment, akin to that which constantly characterized the meek and lowly Jesus. This divine imprint on the heart pervades all nations and ages, and speaks to the present from the monumental records of the most distant past.

It is the glory of Christianity, that it labors to give to this feeling that cultivation and right direction, through all the fields of moral action, which will bring it into harmony with God's will and laws. Obedience to laws requires that they be known and understood. To extend responsibility beyond possible knowledge would be to commit an injustice of which God could never be guilty. To erect an imaginary standard of perfection, which, for want of requisite but unattainable knowledge, no man ever did or could reach, and then to measure his wickedness and prospective punishment by his departure from this ideal, is a mode of procedure which, common though it be, outrages every conception of justice. As well might our fancies picture forth the foulest fiend, the blackest impersonation of wickedness, and measure our virtue and prospective rewards by the sum of our departures from this hideous standard. The practice of judging by an ideal paragon, instead of looking to the actual circumstances which surround ourselves and others, does, and must, lead to despondency and reckless self-condemnation, to uncharitableness and asperity towards others. Charity is, indeed, a noble virtue, and never nobler than when it boldly recognizes the religious element wherever it exists, even though the acts by which it speaks may seem absurd or abstractly wrong. As we look over the history of our race, and see that perhaps not more than one hundredth of that vast procession have ever heard the name or teachings of Christ, or could by any possible effort of their own have gained a knowledge of his words, how can we, without impugning the justice of the Most High, deny to this vast multitude all knowledge of that religion which it is life's great aim to cultivate? How can we maintain that those countless millions must expiate by an infinity of punishment their unavoidable ignorance of certain creeds and forms? This were injustice such as no earthly tyrant ever dared to meditate. And can it be, O God! that to the beast thou hast given an unfailing instinct, while to man thou hast given no power to save himself from the deepest of miseries, thine unending wrath? Not as man judgeth judgest thou, O God! Where a pure heart dwelleth, where love of thee, of man, of all thy works, reflects itself through life's daily acts, there dost thou trace religion, there thy grace dwelleth, there wilt thou save from sin. No accuracy of creeds, no loud orthodoxy, no unmeaning or mechanical forms, no raving fears, can win thy favor to a heart in feeling

and life not virtuous, not striving for good ; nor can any unavoidable ignorance or defect of practice alienate thy love from a heart true to its best perceptions of duty. Thou art a just God over all and "near unto all who call upon thee," perceiving goodness wherever it is, and rewarding it by one just law of recompense, both here and in the world beyond the grave.

When first the eye of infancy opens on this glorious flood of light, when life's vista, boundless as eternity, (for eternity it is,) stretches out before the new-born man, ere action or thought or resolve has yet ripened into life, canst thou, O God ! merciful and just, impose an endless curse which shall invest all its future with a pall ? Shall religion's first act be to accuse thee of cursing those who are what thou hast made them ? In all this wide creation stand recorded countless evidences that thou art just, and good, and perfect in thy works ; and is man, thy crowning labor, thy chosen ruler on the earth, is man thy first failure, the only being defeating the ends of his creation, the only witness that thy will is not law ?

Did Adam's sin bring condemnation down
On me, who had no part in his offence ?
I prompted not the act ; and how can I
In justice bear its punishment ? Justice !
Justice ! 't is God's changeless law of action.
Guilt, its very nature bids to suffer,
And innocence to suffer not, its ban.
Now what have I to do with Adam's sin
More than with Satan's ? Why not condemn me
To eternal pain for sins of spirits
Inhabiting creation's farthest worlds ?
Justice were alike by this consulted.

No more can justice tolerate that Christ
The innocent should bear the punishment
Of man the guilty. Hath not God declared
Companionship ne'er changing, ay, never,
Between all punishment and sin, its cause ?
How can he, then, still being just, transfer
To Christ a load of penalties he ne'er
Incurred by his own act ? By Christ's consent ?
This would not make it just, for punishment
Is not a treasure which God collecteth
And must have, but an ordained consequence
Justly joined to sin, its cause, — curative,
Not vengeance-born.

How strange that any can think of Christ calling around him little children and so benignantly blessing them as already like those who make up "the kingdom of heaven," and yet believe them the subjects of an endless curse !

When the dark pall of brooding care o'erspreads
The cheerless chambers of the mind of man,
And when the blight of hopes unrealized,
Kindness unreturned, love unrequited,
Friendly trust betrayed, with freezing coldness
Falls upon the pure and generous soul ;
How like a mellow sunbeam, streaming through
Richly tinted panes of old cathedral,
Does the glad smile of childhood's innocence
Pour its chastened and heart-cheering glory
Through all the dark recesses of the soul !
How deeply does each graceful childish act
Confirm the sad disgust created by
That crushing, damnatory thought which binds
On natures such as this the awful doom
Of a primeval sin and curse !

Born with perceptive faculties, open to receive external impressions, man comes into the world a spiritual unit, with no initial power over his peculiar circumstances. His will, like all his faculties, is in an infant state. Day succeeds to day, influence to influence, volition to volition, until character, which is constantly the sum of all past thoughts, feelings, acts, and volitions, assumes strength and consistence. Past thoughts, feelings, and volitions thus enter into all our present actions ; present circumstances and strength of will, and present character, shape each passing volition. In each act the will has a partial freedom. We are not wholly free, for surrounding influences do, and must, in part, govern us, and still more our present characters must influence our action ; but beyond this, will has in each act a partial freedom in controlling choice. In part passive recipients of past and present influences, we have also in ourselves a partial power of independent choice. We may by cultivation increase this free power, until the force of present will shall triumph over all earthly influences. This freedom God has given, encumbered by no condition save responsibility.

To strengthen our wills, our moral natures, and thus, of our own accord, to subject all our acts to God's will, this is life's object ; and in its performance lies that religion

which is universal. Thus build we up our characters, grace from above helping our good endeavours. Christ's teaching and example give to the Christian in this life-long struggle a precious advantage over those whose ignorance of Divine laws and precepts leaves them to grope their course along life's rugged ways. Yet not for him alone is God's favor ; for He is alike the Creator and Father of the Pagan, living according to his dim perceptions of good, of the devout Mussulman, the disciple of Confucius, the Gentile of every land. Gracious Father ! never canst thou seem to me the unjust and cruel potentate who could affix to infractions of unheard-of laws unending punishment. O, the thought is blasphemy, that thou couldst make salvation, life's great boon, dependent on belief of unheard dogmas, or speculative doctrines so presented as to shock conscience, outrage reason, and throw on thee the imputation of injustice and cruelty !

From past transgressions we are not saved ; their consequences are upon us. Repentance, God's grace, our own struggles, may save us from future sin, may so strengthen our moral natures, that, as act succeeds to act, better counsels shall prevail in us. This growth in virtuous principle, in love and inclination for good, in religious sentiment, (for these are indeed one,) may so overshadow our past offences that their blighting trail shall slowly melt away from our ever-advancing characters, leaving us pure, acceptable, Christ-like. Thus Jesus saves us ; thus his precepts and life, finding a reflection, imperfect though it be, in our moral actions, bring us to an eternal course of happy, living obedience to God's will and laws in all our free actions. But if, with spirit perverse, we knowingly and purposely contravene or slight that all-potent will or law, guilt goes on accumulating its black account, and misery, its attendant minister, casts its gloomy shadow over an endless future, extinguishing, if God so will, even the cheering light of hope. Such is life's great issue, such the alternative attaching to our moral freedom ; the power of choice is ours. No sudden ecstasy, no undigesting, unpractising faith, no mere orthodoxy of belief, such as trembling devils have, no cold observances or unfelt charities, have power to bring the soul to the heaven of virtue or redeem it from the hell of sin. The heart's spontaneous motion to its God, religion's universal type, whose language is voluntary obedience to his known will expressed

through a virtuous life, — simple trust in him as our Paternal Creator, just, and kind, and good, — an earnest, humble imitation, in heart and life, of him who knew no sin, — O, this is a worship which, rising to the throne of grace, shall win the blessing of an ever-brightening future ! A solemn voice hence issuing to the panting soul speaks hope, and comfort : —

Thou shalt live for ever, journeying on
Through various lands ; and thou shalt put on
Various garments, meet for the changing
Climes through which thy pilgrim path advances ;
Thou shalt call the changing, death, and think it
Terrible, forgetful that thy progress
Is from strength to strength, onward for ever.
God made thee free, that in this pilgrimage
Thou mightst, of thine own act, to greatness reach,
To moral strength, to holiness of heart.

Thy kingdom is thyself, —

Thou canst become an angel or a fiend ;
Thy freedom is, to choose thy character.
The God who made thee through me gives counsel,
And the same harmonious voice speaks forth
From all the wide universe of being,
From the holy harp his own hand hath touched, —

“ God rules all that has been, is, or shall be.
No hand hath raised his veil. He dwelleth not
In palaces ; he sitteth not on thrones.
No power but his is mighty ; no word but
His shall stand. He loveth not oblations ;
He loveth only good. Be ye, therefore, his
Angels, for this is your vocation, for this
Alone ye are. Your praises of that One
Who ruleth all by law are not composed
Of incense or of temples, of glory
Or of wealth, of often-tongued laudations
Or calling him the Great ; but let your praise
Be in the beauty of your holiness,
Your purity of heart. Praise ye the Lord.”

E. B. H.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Baptism, with Reference to its Import and Modes. By EDWARD BEECHER, D. D. New York: John Wiley. 1849. 12mo. pp. 342.

THIS is the most elaborate work that has recently appeared on the rite of baptism, at least in this country, and on the side of pædobaptism, or rather in opposition to immersion; the mode, and not the subject, of baptism being the whole matter brought into discussion. It is the result, apparently, of a thorough and long continued investigation of the original import, and all the early uses, of the word *baptize*. The author published the first part of the work in a pamphlet, as long ago as 1840; and this, being republished in England, was answered by Dr. Carson in another pamphlet, containing a great show of learning, with much assumption and the freest personal abuse. To this Dr. Beecher replied in 1843, examining the argument, and not returning the abuse. Dr. Carson wrote again, in the same strain as at first, and soon after died. Dr. Beecher has now published a final answer, which, with his previous arguments, constitutes this volume of more than three hundred pages.

So far as his opponent and assailant is concerned, if the quotations present him fairly, Dr. Beecher seems to us to have greatly the advantage, in regard alike to learning, reasoning, and temper. As to the point in dispute, we are not sure that he sustains himself in the peculiar position which he assumes in regard to the word itself. His position is, that the word βαπτίζω means simply and always, as a religious term, to "purify" or "cleanse," being a "perfect synonyme of the word καθαρίζω." He frankly admits, indeed contends, that the original word does not mean to "sprinkle" or "pour"; neither does it mean to "immerse"; its generic and proper sense, in connection with the ordinance, is, to "cleanse," leaving the mode wholly undetermined. He admits that the primitive βάπτω means to "dip"; but also maintains, and clearly shows by many examples, that the word, in taking other forms, has taken other senses, and is often used in a way that must mean simply to "wash," and cannot mean to "immerse." This has been proved many times before, but seldom more fully than in these pages, where the boldness of denying this general and important position is clearly exposed. The common mode of arguing, as Dr. Beecher says, is, to prove by various quotations from the fathers and the classics, that the word

βαπτίζω does mean "immerse" in certain connections, and therefore must always denote this. Again, the Baptists assert, what none deny, that the common mode of baptism in the primitive Church was immersion. But Dr. Beecher maintains, we think successfully, that this common practice was owing, not to the necessary import of the term, but to other considerations of climate and general custom.

Though Dr. Beecher restricts himself almost exclusively to the verbal and critical question, we think his plan could and should have included one view of the subject which is too often overlooked by the opposers of immersion, while its opposite is too confidently assumed by the Baptists themselves. They take it for granted, that Christ, and all others who are said to have gone to the water, or into the water, were of course *immersed*; a fact which cannot be proved in a single instance. All the circumstances mentioned in the New Testament, in this connection, are as consistent with pouring as with immersing. With this and other obvious facts before us, — to say nothing of spiritual principles, — we are equally amazed at the ease with which many yield the argument to the Baptists, and at the confidence, if not arrogance, with which the Baptists claim it as all their own. The inferences drawn from this assumption involve a great deal; and though there are higher themes and more interesting questions, we are not sorry that Dr. Beecher has devoted to this so much time and labor. There are those of his brethren who could have done the work better, but he has done it well. H—l.

Lateinische Hymnen und Gesänge aus dem Mittelalter, deutsch, unter Beibehaltung der Versmasse. Mit beigedrucktem lateinische Urtexte. Von DR. G. A. KÖNIGSFELD. [Latin Hymns and Songs from the Middle Ages, translated into German, with the Metre retained, and the Original Latin text printed. By G. A. KÖNIGSFELD.] Bonn. 1847. 8vo. pp. xlviii., 276.

THESE translations appear to be very well done. They interest us far less, however, than the Latin text which accompanies them. Here, in a very pretty volume, of about the price of a common English hymn-book, we have a choice selection from the Latin lyrical poetry of the Middle Ages. The list begins with Hilary, and ends with Jacoponus, the author of the noted "Stabat Mater Dolorosa," thus embracing a period of time from the fourth to the fifteenth century. The twenty pieces, however, that close the collection are of uncertain date and authorship. Many of the hymns are old acquaintances, and are taken from the Roman Breviary; but some of these are much more full than

in the Breviary ; while a number are wholly new to us. It is very desirable to possess a far more complete collection than we have of ancient hymns, both from the Latin and the Oriental Churches. Of the Oriental Christian poets very little is known, and we know not of any good collection of Latin hymns in any of our public libraries. The translator of this volume gives a list of authorities upon this subject, but the most important works cited are strangers to our catalogues.

One is not a little surprised to see the illustrious names that figure on the list of authors. Such men as Ambrose and Gregory the Great are, indeed, noted for their hymns, but one would hardly expect to meet in the same field such rugged thinkers as Augustin and Thomas Aquinas. They sing the same doctrines as they write, and the theologian and the poet agree ; but their poetry meets the heart better than the prose. Rather by much than delve in Augustin's metaphysical lucubrations upon evil, would we listen to a lyric such as his against the tyranny of sin. Aquinas, too, is less interesting in his acute reasonings upon transubstantiation than in his lyrics upon the adorable Host.

We shall be glad if the passion for all the monuments of the Middle Ages will restore to us valuable treasures of poetry and art, instead of infecting us with a detestable mannerism. It is very obvious that no modern hymns surpass, in devotional power, the best that preceded the Reformation. In some of their best efforts, Luther and Watts have but repeated the old Latin hymns. The rage for the classic school of poetry, indeed, led Roman Catholic poets, after the Reformation, and shortly before, to substitute more Horatian stanzas in place of the old Leonine strains. But the best taste prefers the old strains, and the Roman Breviary, in which they abound, excels the Parisian, which contains so many of the new hymns. Commire, Sainteul, and Coffin are named as first among modern Latin poets in this department by Catholic ritualists.

The chief curiosities in the present volume are a "Dirge of Heloise and Nuns at the Tomb of Abelard," and a piece called "*Cygnus Expirans*, — The Dying Swan," in which there seems to be a vein of humor running through the pathos of a song of farewell to the world. There must have been some approach to a smile under the black cowl from which such words came. Here are two or three stanzas as a specimen, in which the jingle would be wholly lost by translation : —

"Parendum est, cedendum est,
Claudenda vitæ scena ;
Est jacta sors, me vocat mors ;
Hæc hora est postrema !
Valete, res ! valete, spes !
Sic finit cantilena !

“ Ter centies, ter millies
Vale, immunde munde !
Instabilis et labilis,
Vale, orbis rotunde !
Mendaciis, fallaciis
Lusisti me abunde.

“ Lectissimi, carissimi
Amici et sodales !
Heu ! insolens et impudens
Mors inturbat sales.
Sat lusibus indulsumus ;
Extremo dico, vale !

“ Tu denique, corpus, vale !
Te, te citabit totum ;
Te conscium, te socium
Dolorum et gaudiorum !
Æqualis nos expectat sors
Bonorum vel malorum.”

This singular piece is anonymous. Its temper does not indicate that its author was likely soon to die, if good humor favors health.

On the whole, this little book is quite an addition to one's treasure of sacred poetry. It may be had of Rudolph Garrigue, and, being in paper covers, is easily sent by mail, from New York. o.

An Universal History, in a Series of Letters ; being a Complete and Impartial Narrative of the most Remarkable Events of all Nations, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time ; forming a Complete History of the World. By G. C. HEBBE, LL. D. Vol. I. New York : Dewitt & Davenport. 1848. 8vo.

HERE is the beginning and promise of a work which it will require a long life to accomplish, even with the aids of unceasing health and untiring industry. This portly volume embraces only that remote and dark period of the human race, which, for the want of authentic materials, most writers of universal history have touched with brevity and caution. Müller despatches the whole in about seventy pages, and Tytler within a considerably less space. Dr. Hebbe forms his plan, however, upon a much larger scale, and if he should have the good fortune to complete his work upon this scale, assigning due proportions to the importance of well-known events through the whole course of history, down

to the "present time," as he proposes, it would be as impossible to predict the number of volumes to which it will extend, as it would be to estimate the dimensions of a library that would contain them all. Yet we are not sure that an author should be censured for the plan he may adopt, till he has had an opportunity to prove whether he can execute it. Dr. Hebbe may be of the mind of a good old English writer, who, when he was undertaking a great literary enterprise, said, — "These I have proposed to myself to labor in, like him that shoots at the sun, not in hopes to reach it, but to shoot as high as possibly his strength, art, or skill will permit; yet, if I can but finish a little in each kind, it may hereafter stir up some able judgments to add an end to the whole."

In the present volume, after a geographical sketch of the ancient world, the author goes resolutely through the earliest periods of history, classifying the people or races under the heads of Assyrians, Medes, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Edomites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Canaanites, Philistines, Syrians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, bestowing upon each a separate narrative. Many of his materials are drawn from the Old Testament, and why the Israelites are not included, as well as the nations conquered by them, does not appear. Nearly one third of the volume is devoted to Egypt, and perhaps a better account of that remarkable and mysterious country, embracing as it does the substance of its ancient history, illustrated by modern discoveries, can nowhere be found within the same compass.

Dr. Hebbe is a scholar, and has evidently spared no labor of inquiry and research. Some of his descriptions are vivid and graphic, such as those of the ruins of Balbec and Palmyra. His style betrays occasional marks of haste, but it is always animated and forcible. Even the driest topics he contrives to invest with a spirit that keeps the reader's attention awake; and few writers express their thoughts with more freedom and independence.

S—S.

The Person and Work of Christ. By ERNEST SARTORIUS, D. D., General Superintendent and Consistorial Director at Königsberg, Prussia. Translated by REV. OAKMAN S. STEARNS, A. M. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1848. 18mo. pp. 161.

In spirit and aim, this is a good book. In its theology, it is very dark, and rather obsolete. In point of argument, it is nothing, — for it does not attempt argument; unless, indeed, an assertion like the following is meant for argument, in which may be seen at once the doctrine and the reasoning of the author: —

"God alone can satisfy God. The eternal Son alone can satisfy the eternal Father. Therefore there must have existed from eternity, with God the Father, through his omnipotence and love, God the Son; who is, however, no other God than the Father." The best recommendation of the work, as to many it will be, and ought to be, a recommendation, is the fact stated by the translator, that Dr. Sears of Newton suggested to him the desirableness of giving the work to the American public in its first English dress. H—1.

Principles of Zoölogy: touching the Structure, Development, Distribution, and Natural Arrangement of the Races of Animals, Living and Extinct; with Numerous Illustrations. For the Use of Schools and Colleges. Part I. Comparative Physiology. By LOUIS AGASSIZ, and AUGUSTUS A. GOULD. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1848. 12mo. pp. 216.

Natural History of Quadrupeds; — and Natural History of Birds; — with Engravings, on a New Plan, exhibiting their Comparative Size; adapted to the Capacities of Youth; with Authentic Anecdotes, illustrating their Habits and Characters; together with Reflections, Moral and Religious, designed for Sabbath School Libraries, Families, and Common Schools. By J. L. COMSTOCK, M. D., etc. New York: Pratt, Woodford, & Co. 1848. 4to. 2 Parts. pp. 73 and 81.

THESE works differ greatly in their character and execution. Dr. Comstock's series is well adapted to the capacities of children, and furnishes, in a familiar way, much that will interest and instruct them. Being designed for the use of families, and of Sabbath and common schools, the moral and religious reflections and precepts contained in the two Parts are appropriate, and generally unobjectionable. It is by means of such books that the study of natural history is to be introduced into our public schools, so that children, having become familiar with the subject in its simplest and most attractive form, may be prepared for the higher departments of the science.

The other work is the first of a series of zoölogical text-books by two accomplished naturalists. It embraces a much wider view of the science than is to be found in any other elementary treatise; and some of the subjects touched upon are almost entirely new to American readers. Without giving a full list of its contents, it may be enough to state that the volume contains a brief and condensed account of the organs of sense and motion, and of their functions, with a description of the various modes of reproduction, the transformations, and the distribution of animals,

and the relation of extinct animals to the geological changes of the earth's surface. The chapter on embryology, which is one of the new topics, that on transformations, and the last, on the geological succession of animals, are particularly interesting. The principal difficulty to be overcome, in the use of the book, will be the want of competent teachers; for, without such, we apprehend that few pupils will be found capable of mastering the details. For teachers, however, and for those pupils in the upper classes of our high schools and colleges who have made some progress in the study of zoölogy, the work is just what is now wanted. In the revision of the press, a few errors, which the advanced student will readily detect, have escaped correction; but these do not affect the general excellence of the work, which may safely be recommended as the best book of the kind that has yet appeared in our language.

H—S.

The Rise and Fall of Louis Philippe, Ex-King of the French; giving a History of the French Revolution, from its Commencement, in 1789. By BEN. PERLEY POORE, late Historical Agent of the State of Massachusetts to France, and Paris Correspondent of the Boston Atlas. Illustrated with Historical Engravings, Portraits, and Fac-similes. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1848. 12mo. pp. 316.

MR. POORE is already favorably known through his able and spirited letters to the Boston Atlas; and we gladly welcome him to the new and higher field of literary endeavour, of which the present volume is the first fruits. Like his previous productions, it is marked by a commendable thoroughness of research, and a wide extent of reading and observation, and is clearly and correctly written. The style is, however, occasionally marred by Gallicisms, acquired during his long residence abroad, and almost insensibly adopted from his intimate acquaintance with the structure of the French language. His positions are in the main satisfactory, and his estimate of Louis Philippe's character we believe to be correct; for, however deeply we may deplore the course which events have taken in France, we can feel little regret for the monarch personally. But we cannot so readily assent to our author's contemptuous remarks on Guizot, "the greatest theoretical statesman of the age," as even his enemies have styled him. Nor do we entertain so warm an approval of the objects of the recent Revolution as, we fear, is indulged by Mr. Poore; since they were, as we conceive, in direct opposition to the true theory of government, which we apprehend is just this,—that government is a trust confided to the authorities of a nation,

to be preserved unimpaired for the good of the people, and that "the right of revolution," as it is called, is an extreme right,—in fact, the *ultima ratio* of the people. Now it is apparent, from a careful examination into the composition of the several political parties existing in France when the Revolution broke out, that the majority of the nation desired no radical change in their form of government, and that no such state of things existed as to necessitate a violent overthrow of the established government. With the qualification implied in these objections, we are disposed to bestow high commendation on Mr. Poore's labors. s—h.

A Compendium of English Literature, chronologically arranged, from Sir John Mandeville to William Cowper. Consisting of Biographical Sketches of the Authors, Selections from their Works, with Notes, explanatory, illustrative, and directing to the best Editions and to various Criticisms. Designed as a Text-Book for the highest Classes in Schools, and for the junior Classes in Colleges, as well as for Private Reading. By CHARLES D. CLEVELAND. Philadelphia : E. C. & J. Biddle. 1848. 12mo. pp. 776.

THE unprecedented multiplication of cheap publications, and the prurient desire for novelty and excitement, which characterize the present day, have almost driven the standard English authors from the living commonwealth of letters. Many young gentlemen, said to be well educated, exhibit a lamentable ignorance of the great classical writers who have shed its brightest lustre upon the Anglo-Saxon race. Bacon, Milton, Pope, Addison, and others are, indeed, subjects of history, but they scarcely have that intimate, effective presence among us to which their merits richly entitle them. This ostracism is much to be regretted, for, if we would preserve our language in its purity, if we would cherish a faultless style, vigor and originality of thought, the highest poetical beauties, and that perfection in prose so natural that it seems to cost the writer no effort, we must take these writers as our models. It is not, indeed, to be expected that one whose life is not devoted to literary pursuits can attain to a perfect acquaintance with the whole circle of English literature ; the great mass of readers have too much else to do ; but they should have some knowledge of those authors who have filled the world with their fame, and who will always be highly prized by the scholar and man of literary taste. The work the title of which is placed at the head of this notice seems admirably adapted to effect the object specified above. It is not so voluminous as to

discourage any one, and yet conveys much that is useful to the young scholar and to the general reader. The biographical notices will be found interesting, the selections are made with taste and good judgment, and this edition contains much valuable matter not published in the first. The work is especially suited to the highest reading classes in schools. We have been pleased with the perusal of it, and we confidently commend it to schools and to the reading public.

S—N.

The Boy of Mount Rhigi. "Do the duty nearest to you." By the AUTHOR of "Redwood," "Poor Rich Man," "Home," etc., etc. Boston: Charles H. Pierce. 1848. pp. 252.

To praise any of Miss Sedgwick's books would be idle. The public has long since assigned her one of the highest places among female authors. The volume before us, if it do not add to her reputation as a writer, will cause her benign influence, already so widely felt, to be extended. It was composed, as the Preface informs us, "to awaken, in those of our young people who have been carefully nurtured, a sense of their duty to those who are less favored; to show them that the ignorant, neglected, and apparently vicious have the germs of goodness in their souls; that patience, kindness, and affection will fall like holy dew upon them, nourishing that which God has implanted." A more worthy or desirable end the writer could not have proposed to herself; and that she has been successful in her endeavour to effect it, there can be, we think, no doubt in the minds of those who have themselves perused this interesting tale, or observed the strong impression which it makes on the hearts of youthful readers. Were we in a mood for criticism, we might perhaps suggest, that so plain a web of life as the accomplished artist undertook to weave hardly admitted of all the embroidery of romance she has used. We do not, however, object to high-wrought fiction as a medium of instruction. Authors who furnish stories for children do right in drawing liberally on imagination, but they must keep within the bounds of what is natural and credible; otherwise they lose the confidence of their hearers, and disqualify themselves thereby for attaining the great object of a narrative for the young, namely, the production of the best moral impression.

B—t.

- A Discourse in Vindication of Unitarianism from Popular Charges against it, delivered in the First Unitarian Church in Manchester, N. H., May 14, 1848.* By ARTHUR B. FULLER, Pastor of the Society. Manchester. 1848. Svo. pp. 20.
- "*What is the Worth of Doctrine?*" *A Sermon preached at the Anniversary of the Charleston Unitarian Book and Tract Society.* By EDWARD EVERETT HALE, Pastor of a Church in Worcester, Mass. To which is added the Annual Report of the Directors. Charleston. 1848. 12mo. pp. 23.
- The Least of Two Evils; a Sermon preached on July 9, 1848.* By JOHN WEISS, Minister of the First Congregational Church, New Bedford. New Bedford. 1848. 12mo. pp. 12.
- The Import of the Christian Name: being a Letter to the Editor of "The Inquirer," in Reply to William B. Carpenter, M. D.* London: J. Chapman. 1848. 8vo. pp. 8.
- An Address delivered before the City Government and Citizens of Roxbury, at the Consecration of the Cemetery at Forest Hills, June 28, 1848.* By GEORGE PUTNAM, D. D. Together with the other Services of Consecration. Roxbury. 1848. 8vo. pp. 28.
- An Address delivered in Christ Church, at the Funeral of Joseph W. Ingraham, together with the Proceedings of the Primary School Committee in Relation to his Death.* Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 24.
- An Oration delivered before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa, at Cambridge, August 24, 1848.* By HORACE BUSHNELL. Cambridge. 1848. 8vo. pp. 39.
- Supplement to Essays on the Progress of Nations, in Productive Industry, Civilization, Population, and Wealth: illustrated by Statistics.* By EZRA C. SEAMAN. No. H. New York. 1848. 8vo. pp. 96.
- Lead Pipe, its Danger; a Rejoinder to the Reply of Professor Horsford to the Argument in the Appendix to Tanquerel.* By SAMUEL L. DANA. Lowell: D. Bixby & Co. 1848. 8vo. pp. 16.
- Communications on Peace, written for the "Christian Citizen."* By J. P. BLANCHARD. Boston. 1848. 16mo. pp. 36.

MR. FULLER'S Discourse on the "popular charges" against Unitarianism is what the place and occasion of its delivery required, — plain, simple, earnest, and pervaded by a Christian spirit. — Mr. Hale speaks of the "true relative position which Unitarian doctrine occupies in our view of life"; he maintains that "doctrine is the means of life, but not the end of life," and this position he sustains and illustrates with a force and freshness of thought which give to his performance a peculiar interest and

value. — Mr. Weiss's Sermon is rather upon self-government than on a "choice of evils," which topic he introduces only near the close, — upon self-government as the means of a true independence. The sermon contains important remarks. — Mr. Tagart's Letter relates to a subject on which our English brethren exhibit the same difference of opinion, and the same earnest feeling, that have been called forth in this country. The columns of the *London Inquirer* have of late teemed with articles, replies, and rejoinders on the "Christian Name." Mr. Tagart's object is, to show that the title of Christian, properly or technically regarded, requires a belief in the miraculous attestation of the truths of Christianity, and not a belief simply in the truths themselves upon "rational grounds." His argument is well conducted, and his language uniformly courteous. — Dr. Putnam's Address is what such a performance should be; it breathes the air of the spot and the occasion; it is affectionate and simple, appealing at once to the natural sensibilities of the heart, and the faith and hopes of the Christian. — The Address at the funeral of the late Mr. Ingraham, by Rev. Mr. Woart, is a worthy and appropriate tribute to the memory of one whose virtues endeared him to his friends, and whose devoted labors in the cause of education entitled him to the respect and gratitude of the community. — It is no slight commendation to say of an Oration listened to with as much enthusiasm as was Dr. Bushnell's, that it loses nothing on publication. The leading idea of the performance — the distinction between "work" and "play," as respectively means and end — we conceive to be just, and it is certainly illustrated with great beauty and force. — Mr. Seaman's "Essays on the Progress of Nations" were favorably noticed in a former number of our journal. The second "Supplement" now before us (the first has not reached us) contains a variety of interesting and useful matter, evidently collected with no little labor, relating to the condition, value of property, etc., of various countries of Europe and America, at different periods. — We received the impression, on reading Professor Horsford's Reports, given in the Appendix to the "Report of the Water Commissioners" of the city of Boston, that some of his experiments were unsatisfactory, and his inferences hasty; and this impression has been confirmed by the perusal of Dr. Dana's pamphlet, in which the Professor's "Final Report" is subjected to a careful examination. — Mr. Blanchard has long proved himself a zealous and disinterested laborer in the cause of Peace. In the pamphlet before us he has collected various articles that originally appeared in the weekly journal, published at Worcester, of which Elihu Burritt was, and we believe is still, the proprietor. They discuss important points, and are written as one writes whose convictions are strong and whose purposes are earnest.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — We cannot but think that a sense of the benefit of a permanent over a changing ministry is recovering the place which it seemed to have lost in the minds of the people. — Rev. Dr. Lamson, who had offered his resignation of the pastoral office at Dedham, has acceded to the wish of his people, and will remain with them. — Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth has yielded to the same influence, and has declined invitations to leave his congregation. — Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York has returned from Europe, with renewed strength for his professional duties. — Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene, N. H., will spend the winter in Cuba, for the benefit of his health. — Rev. Mr. Stone of Sherburne has resigned his ministry in that place, and has taken charge of the pulpit at Chelmsford. — Rev. Mr. Stone, late of Brewster, is now fulfilling an engagement for a year with the people at Sharon. — Rev. Mr. Hinckley, late of Leicester, has formed an engagement to remain with the people at Norton. — Mr. Oliver J. Fernald, a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, will preach through the winter to the society in West Thomaston, Me. — Rev. Mr. Penniman, recently ordained as an Evangelist, has gone to Savannah, Geo., to devote himself to the interests of the Unitarian church in that city. — Mr. Francis C. Williams of Brighton, formerly a member of the Divinity School at Cambridge, has entered into an engagement to preach to the Unitarian society in Albany for six months. — Several other contemplated arrangements for the permanent or temporary supply of pulpits will, we presume, be completed before the issue of our next number.

We learn with great pleasure that the troubles and anxieties of the Second church in this city have been terminated by arrangements which, we trust, will secure its future prosperity. The proprietors of the meeting-house in Hanover street have voted to sell the building, and the congregation, still retaining, as we understand, the ancient name and historical associations, will continue to celebrate public worship in the Masonic Temple, till circumstances shall enable them to occupy a house of their own. — The proprietors of the Hollis street meeting-house in Boston having given Rev. T. S. King of Charlestown an invitation to become the minister of that congregation, which he has accepted, his connection with the Universalist church in Charlestown, of which he is the pastor, will end, as we are informed, with the present month. — The New North church is advancing towards a firm and prosperous condition. — A meeting-house, erected not long since for the use of a Trinitarian society in Dorchester, has been purchased for a Unitarian congregation.

The retirement of Professor Stuart from his connection with the Theological Seminary at Andover, is an event that we cannot pass without notice. Widely as we differ from him in many of the results which he has reached in his pursuit of sacred criticism, and compelled as we have been at times to question his accuracy, we would never be slow to acknowledge the impulse which he gave to critical studies

in this country, or the example of laborious research and candid inquiry which, with some exceptions, he has set to those who would apply philological learning to the investigation of Scriptural truth. Mr. Stuart and Dr. Woods, having both relinquished duties which bodily infirmities and advancing life rendered burdensome, remain to enjoy the respect and affection which years of diligent service have secured to them. Rev. Bela B. Edwards has succeeded Mr. Stuart as Professor of Sacred Literature. Rev. Austin Phelps, late of Boston, has entered on the duties of the Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric. The faculty at Andover now consists of Professors Emerson, Park, Edwards, and Phelps.

Among the recent changes in theological opinion, not the least remarkable is the entrance of Mrs. Mary S. B. Dana, author of the *Letters on the Trinity*, reviewed in our number for November, 1845, into the Episcopal Church. Mrs. Dana, as we learn, has been "confirmed," and has connected herself in marriage with a clergyman of that Church at the South.

From Europe the intelligence brought by every steamer confirms the belief, that important religious, as well as political, changes will be the result of the present revolutionary movements. — In England Unitarianism as a professed faith makes little progress against the religious and social influences which tend to depress it. In the North of Ireland the number of congregations is slowly increasing. — Rev. Mr. Martineau of Liverpool, we understand, has gone to pass a year on the Continent for the improvement of his health. — Rev. Mr. Thom of Liverpool has just returned from a six months' tour on the Continent.

Autumnal Convention. — The Unitarian Autumnal Convention, the present year, — the seventh in course, those previous having met in Worcester, Providence, Albany, New York, Philadelphia, and Salem, — was held at New Bedford, Mass., on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, October 17, 18, and 19, 1848. — At a preliminary meeting of those who had arrived on the afternoon of Tuesday, James B. Congdon, Esq., of New Bedford presiding, a Committee was appointed, consisting of Hon. Mr. Eliot of New Bedford, and Rev. Messrs. Thompson of Salem, and Knapp of Nantucket, to report a list of officers for the permanent organization of the Convention. — At half-past seven o'clock on Tuesday evening, religious services were attended in the meeting-house of the First Congregational Society, and were conducted by Rev. William H. Furness, D. D., of Philadelphia, Penn. Taking for his text the words of the Apostle, in Acts xvi. 31, — "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ," — he proceeded to speak of the value of Christ's personal history as an illustration of his religion, of the truth of that history as established, beyond and above all criticism, by its intrinsic character, and of its sufficiency for the relief of human wants.

On Wednesday morning, at half-past nine o'clock, the Convention having been called to order in the First Congregational meeting-house, in which all the subsequent sessions were held, the Committee appointed on the previous evening reported a list of officers. The report being accepted, the Convention was organized by the choice of Hon. Joseph Grinnell of New Bedford as *President*; Rev. John Pierpont of Troy, N. Y., Hon. Samuel Hoar of Concord, Rev. Simeon Doggett of Raynham, and John B. Thomas, Esq., of Plymouth, *Vice-Presidents*; Rev.

Charles H. Brigham of Taunton, and Rev. John T. G. Nichols of Saco, Me., *Secretaries*. Prayer was then offered by Rev. Mr. Pierpont. The Committee of Arrangements, appointed the last year, reported a series of resolutions, and rules for the proper conduct of the meetings, which report was accepted. It was *Voted*, to take up the resolutions in their order. The first was read, viz. : —

Resolved, That the practical workings of Protestantism, as shown in the collision of opinions and in the prevailing indifference to religious truth, render it the especial duty of Christian ministers now, as ever, to make frequent inculcations of Christian doctrine, and of all Christians to become familiar with Christian truth.

This resolution called forth remarks from Rev. Messrs. Thompson of Salem, Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., Richardson of Haverhill, Lincoln of Hampton Falls, N. H., Thurston of Billerica, Hill of Worcester, Whitman of East Bridgewater, Clarke of Boston, Robinson of Medfield, Thomas of New Bedford, Ellis of Charlestown, Frost of Concord, Mr. G. G. Channing of Boston, Rev. Messrs. Muzzey, and Bellows, of Cambridge, Osgood of Providence, R. I., Peabody of Boston, J. F. Flagg, M. D., of Boston, and Rev. Dr. Allen of Northboro'. The resolution was then adopted, and at one o'clock the Convention adjourned for dinner.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the Convention having reassembled, the second resolution reported by the Committee of Arrangements was read, and gave rise to remarks by Rev. Mr. Thurston, Mr. G. G. Channing, Rev. Messrs. Richardson, Osgood, Hon. James Arnold of New Bedford, Rev. Messrs. Robinson, Hall of Providence, R. I., Bradford of Bridgewater, Allen, Hill, Whitman, and Muzzey. Amendments were offered by Rev. Dr. Hall, and Rev. Mr. Folsom of Charlestown, and were referred, with the resolution, to the Committee of Arrangements, that it might be reported in a new form. On motion of Rev. Mr. Osgood, it was "*Voted*, that the first hour after the opening of the Convention to-morrow morning be given to a devotional conference." The discussion that had arisen under the second resolution was resumed, and continued by Rev. Messrs. Brown of New Bedford, a member of the Christian Connection, Bellows, and Stone of Salem; when the hour of adjournment having arrived, prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell, and the Convention adjourned.

At five o'clock the members of the Convention, with their friends of the two Unitarian societies of New Bedford, met in the City Hall, which was brilliantly illuminated and tastefully arranged. Tables were spread from which the ladies offered tea and other refreshments to their guests. Hon. Thomas D. Eliot of New Bedford introduced the social pleasures of the evening by a few remarks. The Divine blessing was implored by Rev. Mr. Farley, and the hymn beginning, "From all that dwell below the skies," was sung by the company; who then partook of the ample provision before them. Brief addresses were afterwards made by Rev. Mr. Osgood, Dr. Parkman of Boston, Mr. Pierpont, and Dr. Furness. The company then joined in singing the hymn, — "Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing," and left the hall as the hour for the religious services of the evening approached.

At half-past seven o'clock public religious services were again attended in the First Congregational meeting-house. After prayer by Rev. Mr. Weiss of New Bedford, a sermon was preached by Rev. Chandler

Robbins of Boston, from Matthew vi. 6, — "Enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret," — on the religion of the closet, in its connection with character, usefulness, and life.

On Tuesday morning, at half-past eight o'clock, a Conference meeting was held in the same place, at which, besides prayer and singing, addresses were made by Rev. Messrs. Holland of Boston, Fuller of Manchester, N. H., Stone of Providence, R. I., Bradford, Muzzey, and Pierpont.

At half-past nine o'clock, the Convention resumed its business. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Hall. The Committee of Arrangements having reported the second resolution in a new form, it was adopted without debate, as follows : —

Resolved, That, while we would do all that we can for the diffusion of Christianity abroad, we feel ourselves particularly bound to labor for the promotion of freedom, peace, temperance, purity, and piety at home.

The Committee also reported a resolution for the appointment of a committee of five to nominate a Committee of Arrangements for the next year. The resolution was adopted, and the present Committee were directed to make said nomination. The third in the series of resolutions reported yesterday having been read by the President, remarks were made by Rev. Messrs. Farley, Osgood, Mr. G. W. Warren of Boston, Rev. Drs. Furness, and Parkman, Hon. Mr. Hoar, Rev. Messrs. Stone of Providence, Briggs of Plymouth, Frost, Bellows, Elder Nicholson of Illinois, of the Christian Connection, Rev. Messrs. Pierpont, and Holland of Boston. The last three speakers, followed also by Dr. Parkman, directed their observations particularly to the wants of the West, and the opportunities known to exist for the establishment of Unitarian societies in different parts of the country. The resolution was then adopted, viz. : —

Resolved, That, in an age remarkable for its physical developments, and devoted in an unexampled degree to physical good, the peculiar peril of the times is to be averted only by the spirit of profound reverence and fervent devotion.

The fourth resolution was then read, as follows : —

Resolved, That the worship of the sanctuary, the ordinances of Christianity, the religion of the closet and the household, are to be employed and urged more than ever as the paramount means by which to promote the spirit of devotion.

The discussion under the previous resolutions having borne more or less upon the topics presented in this, it was passed without debate.

The fifth resolution drew forth remarks from Rev. Messrs. Waterston of Boston, Pierpont, and Weiss, and, at the suggestion of Rev. Mr. Farley, was adopted, in silence, by the Convention standing, viz. : —

Resolved, That, in the death of Kay of Northumberland, Ripley of Waltham, Whitman of Lexington, and Peabody of Burlington, while we submissively acknowledge the dispensations of a wise and benignant Providence, we mourn the loss of able and devoted fellow-laborers.

The names of five persons, to constitute a Committee of Arrangements for the next year, were reported according to order, and the report being accepted, Rev. James W. Thompson of Salem, Rev.

Alexander Young, D. D. of Boston, Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Fitchburg, Francis Alger, Esq., of Boston, and Hon. Thomas D. Eliot of New Bedford, were appointed as said committee.

The Committee of Arrangements also reported the following resolution : —

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to our brothers and sisters of New Bedford, for the cordial welcome which they have extended to us, and the generous hospitality with which they have entertained us ; and that we shall return to our homes with the feeling that the tie of Christian sympathy has been strengthened between us.

Rev. Mr. Weiss acknowledged the terms of this resolution in a few appropriate remarks.

Rev. Mr. Farley offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz. : —

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be, and they are hereby, presented to the Hon. Mr. Grinnell for the kind, faithful, and dignified manner in which he has guided and presided over our deliberations.

Mr. Grinnell replied in a few brief remarks. The meeting was then closed with prayer by Rev. Mr. Whitman, and by singing the Doxology, "From all that dwell below the skies" ; after which the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

This Convention, like those which preceded it, will be remembered with pleasure. It probably strengthened, in the minds of all present, the conviction, that these autumnal meetings are beneficial, alike in their religious and their social influences. The attendance of clergymen, though not so large as at Salem, exceeded our expectation ; seventy-nine having been counted by a friend. The number of laymen did not equal our hope. We fear an impression prevails, that these Conventions were intended rather for the gratification or benefit of the clergy, than for a joint participation in their pleasures by the ministers, and the members, male and female, of our congregations. We speak confidently of the wish entertained by the ministers who attend our autumnal meetings, that laymen should not only give their presence, but also take part in the discussions. Our friends of New Bedford received the Convention with cordial regards, and exercised towards its members the liberal and elegant hospitality characteristic of their beautiful city. The weather, less propitious than on some former occasions, did not prevent a large and constant attendance on the public meetings. The remarks of the different speakers exhibited the variety of opinion and sentiment, with the frankness of expression, which have been said to distinguish our denomination ; but were free from all asperity. If the discussions lacked the point and earnestness which we have noticed in former years, they were maintained with interest to the last. The brethren, we believe, departed with confidence in the sincerity of each other's convictions and respect for each other's purposes. Diversity in unity — the motto under which we certainly manifest a desire to walk, — was shown to admit of a practical exposition which any Christian believer might be glad to adopt.

Dedications. — The meeting-house erected by the First Parish in Stow, Mass., in place of that which was burned some months since, was dedicated August 30, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston, from Psalm c. 3, 4; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Dr. Allen of Northboro'; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. White of Littleton, Gilbert of Harvard, Shaw of Sudbury, and Bates of Stow.

The meeting-house of the Society at Hayden Row, Hopkinton, Mass., was dedicated September 28, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Stacy of Milford, from Matthew xi. 5; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Holland of Boston; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Davis of Marlboro', Tenney of Upton, and Alger of Marlboro'.

Ordinations and Installations. — Rev. THOMAS S. LATHROP, of West Bridgewater, a graduate of the Meadville Theological School, was ordained as an Evangelist, at Sharon, Mass., with reference to his taking charge of the Unitarian congregation in Northumberland, Penn., August 16, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Stone of Sherburne, from Acts vi. 10; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Merrick of Walpole; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Huntoon of Canton; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Stone of Sharon; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Stone, Merrick, and Huntoon.

Rev. WILLIAM P. TILDEN, late of Concord, N. H., was installed as Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in WALPOLE, N. H., September 27, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene, N. H., from Acts iv. 12; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Crosby of Charlestown, N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Leonard of Dublin, N. H.; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Brown of Fitzwilliam, N. H.; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Saltmarsh of Windsor, Vt.; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Knapp of Brookline, Mass., and Livermore of Keene, N. H.

Rev. J. ALLEN PENNIMAN, of Brookfield, was ordained at Worcester, Mass., as an Evangelist, with a view to his taking charge of the Unitarian congregation in Savannah, Geo., September 29, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Greene of Brookfield, from Hebrews viii. 5; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Greene; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Willson of Grafton; and the other services, by Rev. Mr. Ball of Ware.

Rev. MOSES GEORGE THOMAS, late of South Boston, was installed as Pastor of the Centre Church and Society in NEW BEDFORD, Mass., October 19, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Stone of Salem, from John i. 9; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Allen of Northboro'; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Weiss of New Bedford; the Address to the People, by Rev. Dr. Peabody of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Dawes of Fairhaven, and Morton (of the Christian Connection) of New Bedford.

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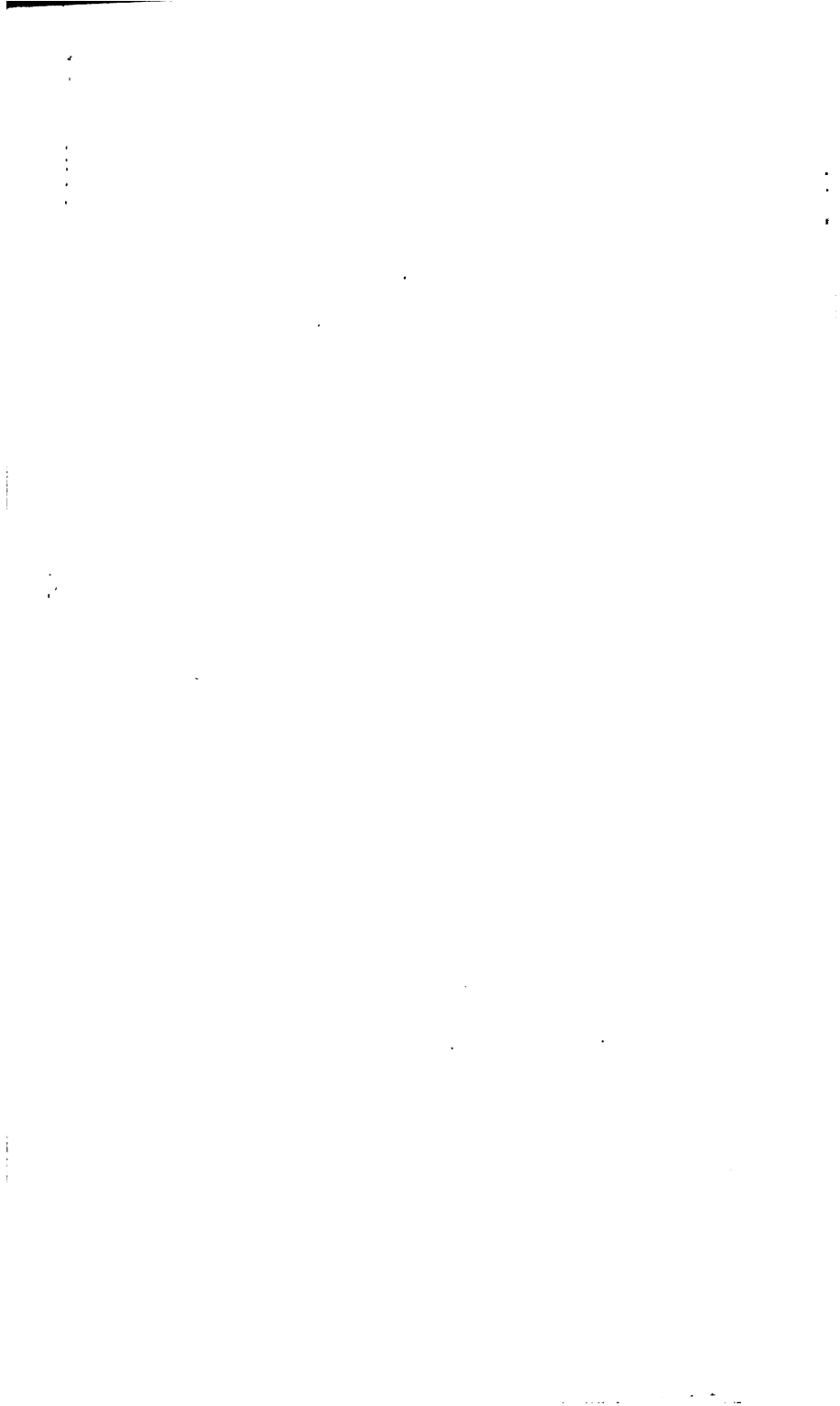
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